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VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE

MILITARY HISTORY

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BATTLE OF NEW MARKET

FROM THE MURAL PAINTING AT THE INSTITUTE BY B. WEST CLINEDINST

THE MILITARY HISTORY

OF THE

VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE

FROM

1839 TO 1865

WITH APPENDIX, MAPS, AND ILLUSTRATIONS

BY

JENNINGS C. WISE,

Formerly Commandant of Cadets, Virginia Military Institute,
Colonel Engineers, Virginia Volunteers.

"There are some defeats more triumphant than victories."—*Bacon.*

"There are those that triumph in a losing cause."—*Lowell.*

LYNCHBURG, VA.
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1915

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DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF

THE NINETEEN CADETS

OF

THE VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE

WHO

FELL IN ACTION, OR DIED IN THE MILITARY SERVICE OF THE

CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA, DURING THE

WAR BETWEEN THE STATES

"To God, whichever way the battle rolls,
We, fighting to the end, commend our souls."

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PREFACE

ERRATA

1. p. 22, line 31, defeat should be defect.
2. p. 22, line 35, more should be mere.
3. p. 25, line 21, recommendations should be recommendation.
4. p. 67, line 27, 1838 should be 1848.
5. p. 93, line 24, effect should be effort.
6. p. 101, line 14, M. E. Colston should be R. E. Colston.
7. p. 135, line 6, something should be nothing.
8. p. 152, line 29, May should be June.
9. p. 176, in footnote, Averill should be Averell.
10. p. 184, last line, C. should be G.
11. p. 189, line 32, Raleigh T. should be Raleigh E.
12. p. 191, line 25, have should be had.
13. p. 195, line 12, omit comma after Edward.
14. p. 204, line 5, he should be we.
15. p. 205, last line, he should be we.
16. p. 206, line 26, onto should be into.
17. p. 306, line 31, insert *Captain* after *Cadet.*
18. p. 324, line 27, have should be has.
19. p. 334, line 1, stag should be staff.
20. p. 369, line 22, Pierpoint should be Pierpont.
21. p. 384, and list of illustrations, Robert Edward Rodes should be Robert Emmet Rodes.
22. p. 455, line 9, Herdy should be Hardy.

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PREFACE

LEXINGTON, VA., April 1, 1914.

THE preparation of this strictly military history of the Virginia Military Institute has indeed been a work of love, and the author hopes the story may possess for others the absorbing interest it held for him.

This history may rightly be styled tradition sifted out and reduced to fact, for it has been written from the official registers, Superintendent's reports, proceedings of the Board of Visitors, "Rebellion Records," original field orders and correspondence, and other contemporaneous records, and little has been accepted save upon such authority, and nothing which has not passed the critical eye of Brigadier-General Scott Shipp, Superintendent-Emeritus, who has been closely connected with the Institute since September, 1856, and who has seen every class graduate except fifteen.

The "History of the Virginia Military Institute" by General Francis H. Smith, recently published, is so brief and incomplete that, while it afforded a valuable outline, it did not even hint at many interesting and valuable facts. It was but a preliminary draft to a more complete work which, unfortunately, General Smith did not live long enough to prepare.

With General Smith's history as an outline and General Shipp's guiding hand upon the author's pen, results were possible which might not otherwise have been accomplished. But then there were two others who contributed much of what is valuable in the work. Their names need only be mentioned in order to apprise the reader of the extent of their influence upon whatever of accuracy the narrative may possess. Captain B. A. Colonna, Cadet Captain of Company "D" in the Battle of New Market, and who served as a cadet in the Corps, from July, 1860, until the destruction of the Institute, possesses a fund of information unexcelled by that of any living member of the War Corps. This he placed at the disposal of the author. Colonel Joseph R.

Anderson, Official Historiographer of the Institute, personally checked every date and figure and made many corrections and suggestions without which the work would have been most defective. The author is unable to adequately express his feeling of indebtedness to them both. In addition to his work of revising the manuscript, Colonel Anderson contributed much to the work in the form of statistical appendices and other matter.

In the preparation of this work the author's thoughts continually dwelt upon Schamyl, Scandeberg, Vercingetorix, Kosciusczko,—and Lee,—the great heroes of defeat, rather than upon the lustful Hannibals of history.

"Courage and conscience devoted to a great cause are the elements of heroism. Judged by conventional standards, it may be fallible, but it is always entitled to respect. The fame of the victor is secure, but at times the halo around the brow of the champion who bites the dust ere he reaches his goal shines with transcendent luster. To portray the heroic deeds and stature of such is, of course, the purpose of the author of this volume." These words are borrowed from an eminent scholar, and upon the cover of this book is stamped the picture of Mercié's statue Gloria Victis,—Victory gathering to her arms an heroic youth—which statue stands before the Hotel de Ville of Paris.

A distinguished officer of the United States Army, one who was formerly Commandant of Cadets of the United States Military Academy, recently addressed the Corps of Cadets at the Institute. He stated that the reason military schools generally failed to attain to the high standards of West Point is because they pattern after the superficial things of the Academy, losing sight of the moral factors and the traditions as the elements upon which its greatness is based. He was right. We can not borrow the souls of others, along with their mode of living and style of dress. But if past service, past glory, and noble traditions be ele-

ments of lasting strength, then the future of the Virginia Military Institute seems assured and no borrowing is necessary.

Yes. There is something deeper than external evidences. It is the soul that must be garbed and drilled, and disciplined, and taught to follow the colors; to obey and to expunge from itself the false and the impure things of life.

Rüchel said the soul of the Prussian army was its officers. That the spirit of the corps of officers bespeaks the spirit of the whole army is claimed by Von der Goltz to be but a repetition of what is universally observed in political life: "So long," says he, "as the educated, the leading classes maintain their efficiency, the people also will be stout and capable." It was this idea upon which Major Howze dwelt when he pointed out that the primary reason of the greatness of West Point was that the soul and, therefore, the spirit of the cadet officer there was high and pure.

West Point is older by nearly two score years than the Institute, but even the great American School of Arms is no richer in tradition than the V. M. I., whose soul is chastened like that of West Point by the knowledge of all those who have ventured forth upon the field of duty from its sally-ports. Here, the most thoughtless cadet, as he paces back and forth upon his post in the still hours of the night, peoples our sacred precincts with spectres from the corps of yesterday, and silently, reverently, renders each a salute while passing.

Youth is inherently careless and not prone to sentimentalism. Yet, down deep in his heart every cadet knows, however much he may seek to cover it up, that silent voices appeal to him here, and that out on the parade ground, trodden in the long ago by heroes unnumbered, he is called upon to pass two inspections—one the inspection of his conscience. And so, let the cadets of to-day rejoice that they find here that which makes it unnecessary to borrow aught except the forms of the soldier, for as long as our exalted traditions pro-

vide us with inspectors for the soul of the corps, the substance as well as the form of the soldier is assured. May the day never come when the cadet is so callous, so dull, that he can not in his mind transport the Jackson standing before our arch to the field of Manassas, and see him there among the very guns which now surround his bronze figure. May the day never come when the figure of Washington before our sally-port fails to speak to the sentinel on his lonely beat, or when the figure of Virginia mourning the loss of those whose remains she guards fails to inspire us with prideful joy at the sacrifice of those lives. May the hour never come when for the whole corps, as well as for its officers, the performance of duty has but the one selfish object of passing gain, without that higher appeal to conscience in its discharge.

The action of the Corps of Cadets in the battle of New Market, while, undoubtedly, its most brilliant military exploit, was by no means the only active field service in which the cadets engaged during the War between the States; but it has overshadowed their other deeds to such an extent that most of them had been almost forgotten, even by the participants. It was to save these to history, and to record the great influence which Virginia's School of Arms bore upon the military career of the Confederate States of America, that this work was undertaken.

So much has been written of New Market that it might at first seem superfluous to attempt to add more to the general knowledge of the event. For two reasons, however, it was necessary to do so; first, because such a work as this would be incomplete without a full account of the battle, especially of the part played therein by the cadets; and second, because a work purporting to be a final one on that chapter of the history of the Virginia Military Institute is so far from conclusive, and so characterized by lack of military perception on the part of its author, that it can not be allowed to stand without a protest. That protest, how-

ever, shall be one of reason and logic; animus shall not enter into our criticisms.

The battle of New Market should be the cause of little contention, for in the brilliant victory which Breckinridge won May 15, 1864, there was glory enough for all participants. Yet, as is always the case when actors on different parts of a battlefield undertake to set forth the conduct of the whole action, and the parts played by the various commands, assertions are made inconsistent with the facts, which invariably lead to denials, charges, and countercharges.

The student of war expects such results, for he well knows—and especially if he be a soldier himself—that armies are no longer marshaled in solid phalanx by a single leader who maneuvers the mass as if it were on parade. The battlefield is seldom of such character that even the commanding general may see, or even know, at every instant where his various units are posted, and those units while themselves pieces in the game are generally quite ignorant of their relative situations with respect to the enemy and the various parts of the army of which they form an integral part. Every such unit has its own particular sphere of action. A hill, a thicket, may be the curtain which obscures its location or its movements, and, so, when a participant undertakes to record more than his own actions, he generally does so under a great disadvantage.

Two brigades or regiments, screened from the view, and perhaps entirely ignorant of the relative positions of the other, assail a certain portion of the enemy's line. The enemy feels at once the pressure of both and retires. Each of the attacking units, unconscious of their joint effect, attributes the flight of the enemy to its own prowess. Here, at once, arises a contention made in perfect good faith. Neither contestant is willing to surrender beliefs honestly entertained, and based on what was actually seen, yet from different viewpoints. And so controversy arises and continues where all are right and all are wrong. The historian who expects to

find a general concurrence of views among the participants in a battle expressed in their official reports, will be invariably disappointed, and if he be a military critic of experience he will not expect it, for detachments of a command, though coöperating as a whole, perform detached functions, and therefore, as we have seen, acquire a detached knowledge of what actually occurred on the field of battle.

New Market has proved no exception to the rule, and the writer is unable to understand why the honest statements of honest men have not been accepted as true with respect to local acts, and why their assertions as to the general conduct of the battle have not been taken for what they were worth. It is easy to distinguish statements based on first-hand knowledge from those founded on hearsay and report.

In order to silence the controversy which arose over New Market by reconciling the various accounts of the battle, the task of writing an authentic history of the battle was by common consent, some years ago, assigned to Captain Henry A. Wise, senior tactical officer of the Corps of Cadets, who commanded the Battalion, after the Commandant was disabled. Captain Wise's industry led to the collection of a great mass of material; but his modesty induced him to surrender the work of putting it into shape to Professor Edward Raymond Turner, of Johns Hopkins University, since become Professor of European History at the University of Michigan.

While Professor Turner is a scholar of merit, he is, unfortunately, not a soldier by training; and he approached the undertaking turned over to him in a confused state of mind, believing that the very natural lack of accord between his witnesses argued against the value of their testimony. Furthermore, impressed at the outset with the belief that the feat of arms claimed for the Corps of Cadets was impossible, he expended much of his energy in endeavoring to prove it so; and, while he rendered a great service in presenting the collected

evidence of the participants, his conclusions are obviously a compromise, and so mixed and at variance with his facts and own assertions, that they are not to be seriously accepted.

With a full recognition of the unprejudiced temper of Dr. Turner, his remarkable lack of bias, his ever-apparent desire to do justice to those concerned, and his pleasant, dignified style and scholarly attainments, it is difficult to sustain his findings in the premises with respect to the value of the service rendered by the Corps of Cadets.

A quotation from the preface of the book will indicate the nature of the case:

"The battle of New Market, though one of the smaller engagements of the Civil War, possessed certain striking features which made it such an attractive subject that it has been described by numerous writers. Moreover, the part taken by the cadets was so brilliant and unique that tales of their exploits, from the very day of the battle, were given wide circulation. To those in a position to know, however, it was evident that no satisfactory account had been written; for, notwithstanding that General Sigel, General Imboden and others had given versions, their work was obviously semi-popular and incomplete; while everything relating to the cadets was more or less a matter of rumor and controversy, exaggerated assertions being made by their partisans and sweeping denials by those who opposed them."

In order to show that more logical conclusions than those of Professor Turner—conclusions entirely consistent with the facts, as well as with the accounts of the battle previously written—may be drawn, before entering upon the account of the battle, the writer will endeavor to dispel the confusion which Professor Turner has only increased. Some of the more important results of his study, he says, may be summed up as follows:

"There was no such disparity of numbers of the opposing forces as has been often stated; Sigel had about 6,000 men in the battle; Breckinridge about 4,500.

"The Federal Army was defeated because of the slow, faltering, and clumsy strategy of its commander, and through a lack of hearty coöperation on the part of the different commands.

"The Confederate triumph was owing to superb and brilliant movements of Imboden and Breckinridge who showed themselves no unworthy successors of Stonewall Jackson, and to the resolute bravery of the *veteran Confederate troops*.

"The decisive factors on May 16th were the storming of the Federal position on the right, the excellent handling of the Confederate artillery, the defeat of the Federal cavalry, and the desperate charges made by the Confederate center."

The author then goes on to say:

"Any assertion that the cadets won the battle of New Market, or stemmed a Confederate rout, are popular exaggerations which have tended to discredit what they actually did.

"There is no doubt that they *held the gap in the Confederate line,* fought wondrously well, and by their example *stimulated the adjoining regiments* to make the decisive charge." (The *italics* are the author's.)

One who has not critically studied the evidence upon which these conclusions are based—and, fortunately for all, that evidence is frankly and fully given by the author—would be justified in awarding to the cadets the honor of having played a very minor rôle in the battle of New Market. First, Dr. Turner declares the "resolute bravery of the veteran Confederate troops" (which necessarily excludes the cadets who were not veterans) to have been one of the decisive factors in the Confederate success. Later, he gives the "desperate charges made by the Confederate center," as a decisive factor. The cadets were in these charges, according to his own statements. Does he mean by the use of the word *"veteran"* to exclude the cadets? No; he should have omitted that word. His final conclusions are mixed and misleading; and the proof that this is so is to be found in the following excerpt from a review which appeared over the initials "H. W." in the Army and Navy *Journal* of June 29, 1912, the reviewer evidently having blindly followed the poorest portion of the author's work, or the summary of his conclusions:

" 'Facts are stubborn things,' as the historian speedily found out, and while great credit must be conceded to the cadets of the

Virginia Military Institute, the facts of history do not give them all the credit assumed for them by many writers on the subject. It would seem that the credit which is due the cadets on that occasion is the high example set by the boys composing the Battalion, who, for the first time, faced the dangers of battle, on that momentous day of May 15, 1864."

Compare this with the author's preface, and we at once recognize the handiwork of the ordinary reviewer who reads the preface, glances over the chapter-headings, picks out an important date or two, writes a few commonplace lines, and adds one more good book to his library.

Dr. Turner has established the fact that the cadets (originally in reserve) were first absorbed in the support, gradually to become involved in the firing-line. This was due to the gradual contraction of the wings of the Confederate line of battle, towards the right and left, respectively, leaving a gap near the left center. Upon noticing the widening gap in his enemy's line, Sigel, with more judgment and precision than he displayed at any other period of the combat, formed a heavy column for the countercharge to be directed into the gap, or against the weakest point of Breckinridge's line. (See pages 57, 75, 79.)

Dr. Turner states in three places in his book that this was a "critical point" in the battle. From a strict military standpoint it was more—Sigel recognized the fact that the very crisis of the combat, that breathless moment when victory and defeat are suspended in the balance, had arrived, and his countercharge was set in motion. It was the opinion of officers who witnessed the battle (and their views are adopted by Dr. Turner) that if this countercharge had succeeded in reaching the Confederate line, Breckinridge's Army would have been cut in twain, and a rout would have followed. This is certainly a reasonable conclusion, for the advance of both Confederate wings had ceased, and the regiment on the left of the cadets had actually fallen into confusion. (See page 59). This regiment could

hardly have opposed the column which Sigel was leading toward the gap, nor could the troops on the right of the opening extend to their left. At this point, then, when the Federal countercharge was well organized, and actually underway, the Cadet Battalion, rectifying its alignment by marking time under a terrific fire from the Federal batteries, was led obliquely to the right from its position in support of the left wing, into the gap, and delivered a heavy musketry fire at close range upon the 34th Massachusetts Infantry, which up to this moment had advanced almost unresisted.

Of the three regiments which had composed the Federal column, two had been checked by the Confederate troops to the left of the cadets; but it seems plain that the Massachusetts regiment would have pressed home, had the gap still been open. As it was, they all but succeeded under the cover of their supporting guns.

On page 59, Dr Turner now tells us that after the repulse of the countercharge, the "hinder échelon" joined the firing line, and formed a solid line, together with the Sixty-Second Virginia of 800 veteran troops. This is conclusive of the fact that at least some of the "resolute veterans" were behind the cadets during the crisis of the combat.

Having repulsed the countercharge, the firing-line was quickly reinforced, the troops pulled together, and a general advance ensued, which culminated in the giving way, and retreat, of the enemy. In this general advance, the cadets were incidentally in the lead. Indeed, this was a fine example and very naturally *"stimulated* the *adjoining regiments to make the decisive charge."*

Dr. Turner should have mentioned the fact that the cadets were on the "gridiron" themselves, and not merely cheering from the "bleachers." There is a decided difference between "stimulating" and "leading," or even "acting in conjunction with." There is no necessary inference from the author's language that the cadets were in this final charge. On the contrary, one would be justified in assuming that they were not.

Now, if the cadets repulsed, or contributed to the repulse of, the countercharge (as is stated by Dr. Turner in three places), and if it be admitted that the countercharge, if successful, would have routed the Confederate Army, the share the cadets bore was undoubtedly more than that of "stimulating" others, or of setting a mere example. And, so, we see how our friend "H. W." of the Army and Navy *Journal* has been led astray by Dr. Turner.

Dr. Turner is not an educated soldier, as is shown by the misuse of the word strategy (page 9), and his entire ignorance of the simplest military terms. Not being a trained soldier, or a student of tactics and strategy, the intellectual and philosophical side of war, he fails utterly to grasp the real importance of the cadets' movements. He fails to recognize the psychological instant, or the crisis of the combat. He fails to note that the cadets, when absolutely no other troops were to be had for the purpose, without orders from Breckinridge, were led by their gallant commander to the right spot *at just the right moment.* He fails to appreciate Breckinridge's remarks to the cadets immediately after the battle, when he raised his hat and said: "Young gentlemen, I have to thank you for the result of to-day's operations." (See page 88). A commanding officer is not apt to ride about his army making such speeches to single commands when there is no foundation for his words. General Breckinridge but expressed the contemporaneous opinion of himself as commander, which was no doubt based largely upon the observations and reports of his staff officers, and they had undoubtedly been in a far better position to follow the movements of the various commands than any of the line officers, for it was their duty to observe and control the whole, while the responsibility and observations of the field and line officers were limited to the sphere of their own activities.

If Dr. Turner had ever studied the works of Clausewitz, Scharnhorst, Gneisenau, Von der Goltz, Moltke,

Bülow, Wartenburg, Prince Kraff, and other military philosophers, he would have accorded more consideration to the psychology of the battlefield.

In Dr. Turner's discussion of the cadets' part in the capture of the guns he also shows an ever-present desire to deny them the credit of the capture, if by any possible argument he can do so. It appears as if he were afraid to follow the evidence too closely, lest he might succeed in proving what he seems to think the impossible.

Dr. Turner goes off on the question of the number of pieces captured, and the number of casualties incurred by the cadets, as evidence against the reputed character of their charge. Assuming that but two pieces were captured by the cadets—and he admits the capture of as many—this fact shows why more loss was not inflicted upon the Corps by the battery, some of the guns of which limbered up and pulled out before the Battalion reached its position. The guns that limbered up could not have fired continuously during the few minutes it took the Corps to traverse the approach to the battery, and those that remained in action were able to fire but a few rounds at most. Guns fired slowly those days, two rounds a minute being rapid work, and ranges for canister were short. Then, too, it must be remembered the cadets were moving at a rapid rate.

Dr. Turner declares the account of John S. Wise to be inaccurate and colored by imagination. He quotes largely from this account until it disagrees with his own views. Then he throws it aside as inaccurate. It is true John S. Wise was wounded early in the action, and claimed no first-hand knowledge of the movements of the Corps, from the first stage of the battle on, but what he wrote was based upon common contemporaneous report, and, strange to say, agrees in every respect with the accounts of Captain Town and Major Lang, both of Sigel's staff, and numerous other eye-witnesses. The writer ventures this assertion: that the majority of competent military critics to whom Dr. Turner's book

might be submitted would hold Mr. Wise's account of the battle more accurate than the conclusions of Dr. Turner, with respect to the importance of the part played by the Corps of Cadets.

No; it is not claimed that the cadets fought Sigel single-handed, or by their prowess alone won the battle. They did, however, help to save Breckinridge from defeat at the very crisis of the combat, and took a leading part in the final stages of the engagement. The writer, in common with all other *élèves* of the Virginia Military Institute, is deeply grateful to Dr. Turner for the lasting record which he has prepared. "Facts are stubborn things," and can not be obscured by mere false conclusions.

In this work the author will undertake to record what probably happened at New Market, without the slightest desire of claiming the impossible for the Cadet Corps, and to accord it due credit for its actual performances, and for the moral effect thereof, remembering that numbers and volume of fire are not the only elements of success on the battlefield. Napoleon did not take the bridge at Lodi with his sword, nor did the handful of men he led thereto defeat the enemy. But had he not taken the bridge at the critical moment the enemy would not have been defeated. In a similar sense it was that the Corps of Cadets helped to save the day at New Market. No reasonable person ever supposed for a moment that 250 cadets swept Sigel's Army from the field at the point of their bayonets, or drove his men from position with the volume of their fire. Nor has anyone, as far as the writer knows, claimed that the cadets could have accomplished what they did except in conjunction with the other valiant troops of Breckinridge's command.*

And now a word as to the frontispiece of this book. It is taken from the painting of the Battle of New Market by the distinguished American artist, B. West

*The substance of the foregoing criticism appeared over the author's name in the Richmond *Evening Journal*, of July 4, 1912, and was included in a pamphlet, entitled "V. M. I. Papers," printed in December, 1913.

Clinedinst, V. M. I., 1870. The painting was unveiled with appropriate ceremony at the Institute, June 24th, 1914. It occupies the large groined arched space in rear of the chancel-like platform of the Jackson Memorial Hall; its dimensions are 18 feet wide and 25 feet high, and the canvas is framed by the gold cornice. The near figures of the charging line of cadets are seven feet high. The scene is the heroic charge of the Cadet Battalion against Von Kleiser's Federal battery, which incident was the decisive action of the day and practically closed the battle.

The picture is a masterpiece of military portraiture. The colors are superb and true, and few pictures, not even those of Messonier, present more real military spirit and action. There are none of those exaggerations or offensive artistic liberties which artists so frequently find it necessary to call to their aid. It rings with truth, and the artist has succeeded without resort to artificialities. His appreciation of military points is testified to in innumerable ways, and as one, even the novice, or the most casual observer, gazes upon the noble work, he at once perceives the element of studious accuracy which characterizes it; the idea is compelling.

But the overwhelming *élan* of the youthful figures and the beauty of their action, individual and collective, is the primal feature of the work. It fascinates and gives one the feeling which a great human drama inspires in real life. There is nothing of the tragedy of death and carnage to strike horror into the breast of the onlooker. The work of the artist has avoided that too common defeat in battle pictures. The red bandages which entwine the youthful brows are not merely bloody—they appear more as crimson badges of heroic courage. The fallen lad appears more as a *dévote,* prostrate before the shrine of valor, than as a maimed boy—a more vicarious sacrifice to the ruthless god of war. The flash of the picture is truly that of the lightning bolt—not that of a horrid, consuming blaze the spark of which was struck by human hands. And, furthermore, the

radiant canvas has a sound, a thing which few pictures possess. But it is not the awe-inspiring crash and rumble of the guns which light up the sullen background with their lurid tongues of fire—it is more the soulful cry and the thrilling reverberation of the Valkyr's divine voice.

God in all His power never staged a scene more humanly sublime than New Market. That day he set apart to immortal man as an eternal inspiration for youth. What more can be said by way of tribute to the artist, the final painter of the glorious deeds on that field enacted, than to say he has fully embraced his opportunity?

But yet, another word. Messonier or Detaille could not have painted this picture. No master could have done it, unless, like Clinedinst he had once worn the cadet coatee; had trod the sacred precincts of Virginia's School of Arms, precincts hallowed by the erstwhile presence of a thousand heroes; unless he had imbibed the spirit which sparkles over her eternal fountains of tradition. Such an one only could mix into his colors the truth of New Market.

The other illustrations, with the exception of the pictures of the Institute, are reproductions of portraits at the Institute, none of which, as far as the author knows, have ever been reproduced before. These portraits present the likenesses of that little body of men who together so largely made the Virginia Military Institute what in their day it was, and what at this time it is.

JENNINGS C. WISE.

CHAPTER I

THE GENESIS OF THE VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE

WHEN the corner-stone of the present Cadet Barracks in Lexington was laid July 4, 1850, the seventy-six anniversary of the birth of our nation, and nearly eleven years before Virginia seceded from the Union, a distinguished American, John W. Brockenbrough of Virginia, called attention in the address which he delivered on that occasion to "the portentous cloud gathering in the North." "In peace prepare for war," was the tenor of his words.

Six years later, the General Assembly of Virginia, by Act of March, 1856, made a special appropriation of $10,000 for the purchase of a bronze replica of Jean Antoine Houdon's statue of George Washington, to be placed before the sally-port of the Barracks in order, writes the historian, "that nothing might be wanting to make the Institute effective for usefulness to the State."

Statues are but symbols, ofttimes idealizations, of the lives and thoughts of those they represent. It was well, therefore, that the heroic figure of Washington should be mounted like a great silent sentinel—eternal guardian of the destinies of Virginia's youth—at the very sally-port of the lives of many of her citizens. But, in placing it there, did our legislators not have in mind the warnings which Washington, like Brockenbrough, had uttered? Exactly eighty years before this statue was dedicated by Governor Henry A. Wise of Virginia, the great man whom it represents wrote these words into his last annual message to Congress:

"The institution of a military academy is also recommended by cogent reasons. However pacific the general policy of a nation may be, it ought never to be without an adequate stock of military knowledge for

emergencies. The first would impair the energy of its character, and both would endanger its safety, or expose it to greater evils, when war could not be avoided. Besides, that war might not often depend upon its own choice. In proportion as the observance of pacific maxims might exempt a nation from the necessity of practising the rules of the military art, ought to be its care in preserving and transmitting, by proper establishments, the knowledge of that art. Whatever argument may be drawn from particular examples, superficially viewed, a thorough examination of the subject will evince that the art of war is both comprehensive and complicated; that it demands much previous study; and that the possession of it, in its most improved and perfect state, is always of great moment to the security of a nation. This, therefore, ought to be a serious care of every government; and for this purpose, an academy where a regular course of instruction is given, is an obvious expedient which different nations have successfully employed."*

Washington's recommendations as to the creation of a National School of Arms was born of a bitter experience. To-day we find the ultra-pacificists appealing to his military successes at the head of a citizen-soldiery, in support of their anti-militarism contentions. They ignore utterly Washington's own views as to the value of the troops he led. But those views were unequivocally expressed. Wrote the peace-loving Father of our country, "Regular troops alone are equal to the exigencies of modern war, as well for defence as offence, and when a substitute is attempted, it must prove illusory and ruinous. No militia will ever acquire the habits necessary to resist a regular force. The firmness requisite for the real business of fighting is only to be obtained by a constant course of discipline and service. I have never yet been witness to a single instance that can justify a different opinion, and it is most earnestly to be wished that the liberties of America may no longer

*U. S. Doc. Foreign Rel., Vol. III, pp. 31-2.

be trusted, in any material degree, to so precarious a dependence."

How strange that the very man who dedicated the Washington statue at the Virginia Military Institute, in 1856, should have signed the death-warrant of John Brown within three years thereafter, and that he should have witnessed the execution of the arch-traitor of the Union, with the Corps of Cadets as his military escort!

It must not be thought, however, that Washington originated the idea of a government military academy. Undoubtedly, his wide knowledge led him to appreciate the need of such an institution from the first; but it was Henry Knox who first recommended its creation.

After the defeat of the Americans on Long Island, in August, 1776, Congress resolved upon an entire reorganization of the Continental Army. The Congressional Committee appointed to investigate the matter of army reform called upon Colonel Knox, a young man twenty-six years of age, then in command of the artillery of the army, for suggestions concerning his arm of the service.

In a report, characterized by great breadth of view and intimate familiarity with the needs of the service in general, Colonel Knox recommended, among many other things, that a school for artillery and engineer officers be established. The following are his exact words:

"And, as officers can never act with confidence until they are masters of their profession, an academy established upon a liberal plan would be of the utmost service to the continent, where the whole theory and practice of fortification and gunnery should be taught, to be nearly on the same plan as Woolwich, making allowances for differences in circumstances—a place to which our enemies are indebted for the superiority of their artillery to all who have opposed them." (Report of Sept. 27, 1776).

Knox's wise plan was not adopted at the time, and it was not until 1794 that the War Department under-

took to compensate for the lack of a military school for the training of officers by attaching cadets to artillery regiments. This plan was a poor substitute, as we are informed by Secretary of War McHenry, in a letter dated June 28, 1798, in which he wrote: "It was supposed that these cadets would form a nursery from which qualified officers might be drawn to fill vacancies; but it must occur that without proper masters to teach them the sciences necessary to the engineers and artillerists, this nursery can produce no valuable plants."

In 1802, the Corps of Engineers was organized and stationed at West Point, New York, and so constituted as to form a military academy for the training of artillery and engineer officers. But, notwithstanding the brilliant attainments and ability of Colonel Jonathan Williams, the first Superintendent, the school was not fruitful of the best returns until after the War of 1812 when cadets were appointed in all branches of the service and attached to the academy for preliminary military and scientific training.

It was in the year 1816 that President Monroe commissioned Simon Bernard "an assistant in the Corps of Engineers of the United States with the rank of brigadier-general by brevet." In his capacity as the virtual chief of the Corps of Engineers, this great man exercised so marked an influence upon military instruction in America, he may rightfully be called one of the fathers of West Point.

A Frenchman by birth, Bernard had served as a general of Engineers in the Army of the Rhine under Napoleon, and in 1813 as aide-de-camp on the Emperor's staff. Adhering to the Restoration, however, he later obtained permission to accept appointment in the American service and remained in the United States until the French Revolution of 1830, at which time he returned to France, planned the fortifications of Paris, and became Minister of War in 1834.

While in America, Bernard not only planned the entire system of our coast defense fortifications, but many

of the great civil engineering works of the country. But it is in his connection with the development of West Point that his work particularly interests us.

In December, 1818, he rendered a report on the Military Academy in which he expressed, among others, the following views:

"1. That elementary schools are necessary to supply the wants of the army and for the instruction of the militia.

"2. That the elementary schools for the army and those for the use of the militia should be distinct from each other.

"3. That several elementary schools are necessary for the instruction of the militia."

Of his constructive services to America, Major-General William H. Carter, Assistant Chief of Staff U. S. Army (1914), writes, "His training and engineering skill were of great moment to the nation when West Point, the Alma Mater of Military Engineering in America, was yet in its swaddling clothes. His earlier European experiences in campaign and battle were tinged with brilliancy and romance, but his genius laid the foundation of constructive work in America which will live and be builded upon for the benefit of mankind long after the stories of his battles have lost their power to quicken the pulse of a prosaic age." (Journal of the Military Service Institution, Sept.-Oct., 1912).

With Simon Bernard came another great Frenchman to America, Captain Claude Crozet. Crozet was born at Villefranche, near Lyons, January 1st, 1790. At fourteen years of age, he was admitted to the Polytechnic School, Paris; was graduated in 1807 as a sub-lieutenant of Artillery; and then proceeded to Metz for the special course of instruction given there to artillery and engineer officers. After two years at this fortress, he joined the headquarters of the Emperor near Vienna, just in time to participate in the memorable battle of Wagram. During the next two years young Crozet received from the hands of the Emperor the Cross of the Legion of Honor, and was promoted to the grade of Captain in the Imperial Corps of Artillery attached

to the division of Marshal Ney, then preparing for the invasion of Russia.

On the disastrous retreat of the Imperial Army from Moscow, Captain Crozet was captured and held prisoner in the interior two years. After the Treaty of Paris in 1814, he returned to France, several months after Napoleon's departure for Elba. By order of the King, the "Decoration de Lys" was now conferred upon him, and he was restored to his old rank in the army; but he declined to re-enter the military service until the Emperor returned from his first exile. At the termination of the "Hundred Days", he was again without employment; and on June 6, 1816, provided with letters from the Marquis de Lafayette and others well acquainted in America, he set sail, with Bernard, to seek his fortune in the new republic of the United States.

Through Bernard's influence, Crozet was almost immediately appointed Professor of Engineering at the Military Academy, entering upon his duties there February 1st, 1817.

Under Captain Crozet, instruction was first given at West Point in Descriptive Geometry, Analytical Trigonometry, Differential and Integral Calculus, Civil Engineering and the Principles of Machines. At that time, there was no text-book in the United States on Descriptive Geometry; and until Captain Crozet's treatise was issued in 1821, instruction in the subject at West Point was entirely oral.*

In 1824, Captain Crozet's health compelled him to relinquish the confining employment of a professor, and he accepted at this time an appointment as State Engineer of Virginia. During the nine years he served as such he urged a lock and dam system of improvement of the James River from Richmond to Lynchburg, and in 1830 further urged the construction of a railroad connecting the canal with the Kanawha River, thus

*The influence of Crozet on the academic organization of the Institute will be readily perceived by all the Alumni. He introduced descriptive geometry at the V. M. I. and his text-book was here taught for years. The subject still remains in the curriculum course, and for sentimental reasons, if no other, may it ever remain. It is taught at but few institutions in America, except as a special topic.

uniting the eastern and western waters. In 1832 he accepted the office of State Engineer of Louisiana, but the following year gave up active engineering and became President of Jefferson College, Louisiana. In 1837, he again became State Engineer of Virginia. Such had been the career of the man who was, as first President of its Board of Visitors, soon to aid in moulding the destinies of the Virginia Military Institute.*

In February, 1816, the very year that Bernard and Crozet sailed for America, the General Assembly of Virginia provided for the erection of three arsenals, in each of which were to be stored 20,000 stand of arms. One of these arsenals was to be situated west of the Alleghany Mountains, or in that section of the State since become West Virginia; one of the others was located in Richmond, and one in Lexington. For each arsenal a company of State Guards consisting of one captain, one sergeant, 28 privates, and two musicians, was to be mustered into the service of the Commonwealth, and the period of enlistment was fixed at five years. The regulations, pay and allowances for these troops were the same as those provided by Congress for the regular army. The act authorizing the erection of the arsenals directed the arms held by the militia to be turned into the arsenals as soon as they were ready to receive them for storage and care. Certain militia organizations were designated to retain their arms. The context of the Act clearly shows that continuous neglect of State property caused the establishment of the

*In 1849 Captain Crozet was selected to locate and construct the Blue Ridge Railroad from Albemarle County through Rock Fish Gap, to Augusta County, as a State improvement. This proved a very difficult undertaking, and involved construction of several tunnels with many complications. The work was completed and turned over to the predecessors of the present Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Company, in 1856; and soon after Captain Crozet was invited to Washington by the Secretary of War to assume the position of principal assistant to Captain M. C. Meigs, Corps of Engineers, on the Construction of the Aqueduct. Captain Crozet is credited with the planning and construction of the existing aqueduct bridge connecting Georgetown with the Virginia shore, near the Arlington estate. He was separated from the Aqueduct engineering work in 1859, on account of exhaustion of funds, and returned to Richmond, Virginia, where, as Principal of Richmond Academy, he resided until his death in 1864. For a full account of his life, see article by Gen. Wm. H. Carter, Journal of the Military Service Institution, July-August, 1913. Captain Crozet's protrait hangs in the Jackson Memorial Hall at the Virginia Military Institute.

arsenals, and not any sudden desire to accumulate surplus armament against future exigencies.*

From the passage of the foregoing Act until the outbreak of the War between the States, Virginia had a standing army only excelled in point of diminutiveness by the famous army of the Prince of Monaco. But while the enlisted men of the Lexington Company were not engaged in the protection of legalized gambling, they were, nevertheless, an undesirable element in the social economy of aristocratic Lexington. The care of the 30,000 stand of arms which were accumulated in the arsenal, the necessary guard-duty and drill, a trimonthly muster and inspection, by no means fully occupied their time; and the members of the idle command were in the nature of things of such a low social order as to be objectionable to the thrifty people of Lexington, a town then numbering possibly 1,500 inhabitants, or about half the present population.

In Virginia, in the early part of the nineteenth century, there were few towns larger than Lexington; and among its residents, by reason of the presence of Washington College, were to be found an altogether disproportionate number of intellectual persons. Furthermore, the town was the County seat of Rockbridge, in a section rich in agriculture and cattle, and located on the James River and Kanawha Canal.

In the nature of things, Lexington had frequently been visited by Captain Crozet while engaged in the construction of the canal. As State Engineer, he knew of the Arsenal; as a soldier and an *élève* of a French Military Institute, a former Professor at West Point, and fresh from his labors in organizing and building up the National School of Arms in company with Bernard, he undoubtedly perceived the opportunity offered Virginia; and, in all probability, discussed with some of its principal citizens the project of founding a military school in Lexington long ere it took tangible form. He pointed out to them, no doubt, that in the period of our

*See Revised Code of Virginia, 1819, Vol. I, pp. 125, 126.

Revolutionary War, the country was entirely dependent upon foreigners to supply the scientific corps of the army with officers—such as military engineers, officers of ordnance and topography, as well as tacticians and strategists. He called attention to Washington's recommendations and views regarding military education and he repeated the words of Professor D. H. Mahan of West Point, who had declared that, "Military knowledge, that essential element of a nation's safety, which, like our own, depends upon her citizen soldiery, in a moment of danger, is at the lowest ebb. To so great a degree was this the case, it may safely be averred that, at the commencement of the War of 1812, twenty-five native-born citizens could not have been brought together throughout the entire length and breadth of our country, who were capable of discharging the simplest duties of military engineering in the field."

In December, 1834, the plan of substituting a military school for the Lexington Company of State Guards was finally discussed at a meeting of the Franklin Literary Society in Lexington, and endorsed by most of its members, among whom were many prominent professional men and other citizens of the town. The discussion led to the publication in August, 1835, in the Lexington *Gazette* of a series of three articles, over the *nom de plume* of *"Civis"*, proposing the plan for public consideration.

Now, *"Civis"* was John Thomas Lewis Preston, Esq., a prominent young lawyer of Lexington, who has expressly declared that he was not the originator of the idea.* Crozet had been away from Virginia less than two years, and it seems reasonable to conclude that he was one of the originators of the plan, if not solely responsible for its first suggestion.

In the elaboration of the plan, however, Preston, who was not a soldier by education and training, took the

*History of the Virginia Military Institute, Smith, p. 14.

THE ARSENAL IN 1839

leading part. This, undoubtedly, accounts for the fact that little mention was at first made of West Point. He stated the object of the proposed measure to be "to supply the place of the present guard by another, composed of young men from seventeen to twenty-four years of age, to perform the necessary duties of a guard, who would receive no pay, but, in lieu, have afforded to them the opportunities of a liberal education." In other words, he lost sight, through lack of a proper understanding of the needs of the country and of the state, of the primary concept of the originator of the idea.* But though lacking in military training Mr. Preston was brilliant and capable. A typical Virginian in appearance, he was six feet in height, well proportioned, graceful, courteous, dignified, cordial, quick-witted, fluent, masterful, and, therefore, had the qualities which make good officers. With natural gifts of exceptional order he had received at Washington College, the University of Virginia, and Yale College, the best education the country afforded. His tastes for intellectual pursuits had been fostered by his profession and by foreign travel, as well as by constant study and reading. He was a grandson of Edmund Randolph, Washington's Secretary of State, and in his veins coursed the cavalier blood of the Nicholases, Peytons, and other equally distinguished families, as well as the sturdy strain of the Scotch-Irish Prestons.

Lexington and Rockbridge County were not slow to recognize the wisdom of *"Civis,"* and a memorial was soon presented the Virginia Legislature urging the adoption of the plan, by Mr. Preston in person; which resulted in an Act of Assembly, 1835-6, providing for the disbanding of the Lexington Arsenal, the substitution of a military school therefor, and the appointment of a Board of Visitors, consisting of four members, with the Adjutant-General, *ex-officio*. At first, the Legis-

*Ibid, pp. 15, 18, 21.

lature contemplated the organization of the School as a mere department of or annex to Washington College; but amended its original Act in 1837-38; repealed it outright in 1838-39; and in March, 1839, gave the School an entirely independent organization.

The new School, the second governmental Military Academy in America (West Point being the first), was named by Mr. Preston. "Virginia Military Institute seemed appropriately significant, *Virginia* as a State Institution, neither sectional nor denominational. *Military,* indicating its characteristic feature. *Institute,* as something different from either college or university. The three elements thus indicated are the basis of a triangular pyramid of which the sides will preserve their mutual relation to whatever height the structure may rise."

The Virginia Military Institute was created just as Captain Crozet resumed his office as State Engineer of Virginia. We are told that he was "persuaded" to accept reappointment. Can it be that the consummation of a pet scheme in the founding of the Military Institute had something to do with his decision? At any rate, he was immediately appointed President of the first Board of Visitors, and set about the work of organization with the same spirit he and Bernard had displayed at West Point. To him is due much credit for the original scheme of organization and development, for at once the lay ideas of Preston were supplanted by the professional ideas of the French soldier, and the cadet stepped forth in the uniform of the young Guard of France, already adopted at the National Academy!

From the outset, the School was impressed with the most thorough military character. Besides the Governor, the Adjutant-General, and three civilians (one of whom, James McDowell, was subsequently Governor of Virginia), the first Board of Visitors contained Colonel Claude Crozet (President), Captain John F. Wiley, a veteran of 1812, General Thomas H. Botts,

General Charles P. Dorman, and General Peter C. Johnston.* With four generals, one colonel, and one captain on the Board, the *military* idea seems to have been quite carefully kept in view! Governor Campbell knew that soldiers were best qualified to do a soldier's work.

The influence of Crozet and his military comrades of the first Board is clearly reflected in the original curriculum of study prescribed, which embraced Mathematics, Mechanics, Chemistry, Engineering, Tactics, French, German, English, and German Literature.

*Peter C. Johnston was the brother of Joseph E. Johnston. General Thomas H. Botts married Mary Stone, of Fredericksburg, about 1829. Both died before the war. Their children were William, Benjamin, Henry, Albert, and Mary Berkeley. Bernard Peyton was born March 14, 1792. Died June 21, 1854. He married Julia Green, October 1, 1817. Peyton was appointed first lieutenant in the 20th infantry, U. S. A., on March 12, 1812, and became captain in the same on April 16, 1813. In 1825 he was appointed Adjutant-General of Virginia, in which office he was succeeded by William H. Richardson. From 1838 to 1844 he was postmaster of Richmond. His children were Thomas Jefferson, Bernard, Moses Green, Thomas Green, Susan Scott, and Julia A.

CHAPTER II

FOUNDING OF THE SECOND AMERICAN SCHOOL OF ARMS*

IN the foregoing chapter the influence of West Point upon the creation of a School of Arms in Virginia has been clearly demonstrated; and it is not difficult to understand that the views of Washington, Knox, and Bernard were entertained by Crozet, as well as by the other prominent military men connected with the Military Institute of Virginia, when it was first established. The voice of these men was certainly a controlling one in all the deliberations of the first governing body of the School; and, thoroughly in accord with Crozet, his fellow-soldiers, as well as the other illustrious members of the Board, were only too glad to give him a free hand in the organization of the Institute.

The keynote of the new system of education they proposed was that first, last, and all the time the cadet-student should be a soldier, for it was not believed by the founders of the School that military training, with the habits of discipline in mind and body which it involved, was in any way subversive of, or inconsistent with, good citizenship. Their purpose was not to supply officers for the regular military establishment,—nor has such been the aim of the authorities at any time, except during the period of the Civil War. The mission of the Institute was clearly differentiated from that of the National Academy, the sole aim of which has necessarily been to furnish the nation with officers trained in the fundamental principles of command. The Virginia Military Institute, on the other hand, was created for the purpose of providing a liberal education, coupled with a military training, in the belief that its graduates would prove valuable citizens, all the more useful be-

*Norwich University of Vermont dates from 1819, but it is a private institution and one in which the military feature is not of paramount importance.

cause capable of bearing arms efficiently in the hour of their country's need. The whole conception of the School was in accord with the recommendation of Washington which has already been cited. "However pacific the general policy of a nation may be, it ought never to be without an adequate stock of military knowledge for emergencies." Congress recognized the national want by the creation of West Point. Virginia met the needs of her people in the establishment of her own Military Institute. Thus, the nation undertook to supply the trained regular, and the Old Dominion the trained volunteer officer,—acts on the part of each thoroughly compatible with the spirit of the Federal Constitution.

Having framed their general plan, the Board of Visitors recognized the fact that its successful development depended upon the character and abilities of the man who should superintend its execution. Accordingly, there was no hurry in the selection of that official. Established by legislative Act of March, 1837, it was not until April, 1839, after nearly two years of careful investigation, that the first Superintendent for the School was decided upon, and he was invited to present his acceptance of appointment to the Board the following month.

Happily, the choice fell upon one whose subsequent career ably testifies to the wisdom of the selection.

Francis Henney Smith was born in Norfolk, Virginia, October 18, 1812, of aristocratic English and Virginia parents. He was, then, a gentleman by blood, environment, and early training. July 1, 1829, he was appointed a cadet of the United States Military Academy, and was graduated with distinction with the Class of 1833. As to his associates during the period of his cadetship, and the character of his education, one need only consult the records of the Academy. Both were the highest the country afforded.

November 30, 1833, he was assigned to the celebrated First Artillery with the rank of second lieutenant, and

thus again he was thrown in contact with men of distinguished character and ability. But his military service was of short duration, for he, like many other officers of the time, resigned from the army to enter the civil walks of life. The army at that period offered small prospect of advancement, and, in fact, the life of the soldier held little allurement for men of intellect, not specially devoted to a military career. And, so it was that Lieutenant Smith resigned his commission, May 1, 1836, to accept the professorship of Mathematics,—a subject in which he was particularly gifted, —at Hampden-Sidney College, Virginia.

Although one finds no mention of the matter in the records of the Institute, the writer is inclined to believe a certain influence led to the selection of Francis H. Smith as the first executive and Principal Professor of the Institute. At any rate, the following circumstances are narrated:

William Nelson Pendleton, of Caroline County, Virginia, was graduated from West Point, July 4, 1830. He was a First Classman at the Academy when Smith entered as a "plebe," and being from Virginia naturally became interested in his fellow-countryman, as cadets are wont to do. A great religious revival was sweeping over the country at the time, and the spirit invaded the Academy. Pendleton and Smith were both intensely religious, and were, therefore, more than ordinarily congenial. In September, 1831, Lieutenant Pendleton of the Artillery was ordered back to the Academy as Assistant Professor of Mathematics, in which capacity he served for one year. In October, 1833, after an irksome year of garrison life, Pendleton resigned his commission and accepted the professorship of Mathematics at the newly organized Episcopal College, near Bristol, Pennsylvania. In May, 1837, he was ordained Deacon in the Protestant Episcopal Church, Diocese of Virginia, by Bishop Meade at the Convention in Petersburg, Virginia, and accepted a professorship at Newark College, Delaware. In 1839 he was appointed Head-

Master of the Episcopal High School, near Alexandria, which Bishop Meade founded that year.*

General Smith tells us that the offer of appointment as professor at the Institute came to him through Rev. George A. Baxter, D. D., President of the Theological Seminary at Alexandria. Dr. Baxter and Pendleton were well acquainted and both had just attended a meeting of the Episcopal Synod in Lexington, where the appointment of a Superintendent for the Institute was being widely discussed. It is possible, therefore, that Pendleton may have suggested the name of his friend, whose presence in Virginia, whose skill as a teacher, training as a soldier, and character as a Christian, all recommended his fitness for the position.

And yet, the name of Francis H. Smith may have been suggested in another way to the Board of Visitors. Joseph Reid Anderson of Richmond, later a Confederate brigadier-general, and the noted proprietor of the Tredegar Iron Works, had been a cadet at West Point with Smith. After serving as a lieutenant in the Third Artillery, he transferred to the Engineer Corps in 1836 and resigned his commission in 1837 to become First Assistant Engineer of Virginia. This placed Anderson in intimate association with Crozet, the President of the Board of Visitors, who was Chief Engineer of Virginia. There is good authority for the belief that Anderson himself was Crozet's first choice but declined to be a candidate. Smith always believed that Anderson was a candidate for the office and the amusing story has become current that when the names of Anderson and Smith were being discussed before the Board, the advocates of the two candidates devoted most of their time to singing the praises of Mrs. Anderson and Mrs. Smith. The story further has it that this more or less irrelevant discussion continued without signs of abating until the humorous Crozet rose and called for a vote as to which one of the ladies should be Superintendent!

*Memoirs of William Nelson Pendleton, Lee.

Colonel Joseph R. Anderson, the present Historiographer of the Institute, declares that his father's name never came before the Board; that he was not a candidate; and that he was merely approached by Crozet and declined to become a candidate. Having been a cadet with Smith, it is possible, therefore, that Anderson suggested Smith's name to Crozet.

The foregoing facts have been presented at some length for the purpose of fully tracing out the West Point influence upon the Institute, a matter which has never been adequately presented.

The appointment of Smith was also advocated by Major Charles H. Smith, of Norfolk, Paymaster U. S. Army, who was brother-in-law of General Thomas H. Botts, of the Board of Visitors; but we have no reason to believe that Major Smith first suggested the name of his friend to the Board.

The original plan of the founders of the School contemplated a quota of 40 cadets, one to be appointed from each senatorial district of the State. Smith, who had acquired uncommon repute as a teacher, and who was a man of ambition, was unwilling to accept a position of such limited scope as that offered him, and declined to appear before the Board of Visitors, as requested; but, notwithstanding this attitude on his part, he was unanimously elected Principal Professor, with rank of major, and duties as Commandant of Cadets, June 8, 1839. July 1, he accepted the appointment after long and thoughtful deliberation.

The first official act of Major Smith was to confer with Colonel Thayer, the distinguished and successful Superintendent of West Point, for the purpose of securing suggestions from him, as well as samples of the uniforms, arms and equipment in use at the Academy. Soon after his acceptance, he received a letter from Colonel Crozet which placed at rest all fears the soldier Smith entertained about the military character to be imparted to the new School. An extract from that letter follows:

"LEXINGTON, September 12, 1829.

"MAJOR FRANCIS H. SMITH.

"DEAR SIR—You will receive by mail a printed copy of the Regulations adopted by the Board of Visitors for the government of the Virginia Military Institute.

"We understand that it is your intention to take a trip to the North previous to your coming to this place: in this event, you might assist the Board in procuring several things which will be wanted at, or shortly after, the opening of the Institute. Among them are some parts of the uniform and accoutrements, which, you will observe, are similar to those used at West Point.

"Would it be convenient to you, while there, to inquire what prospect there would be of obtaining 100 such muskets and complete accoutrements as are used there, and to take such steps as will secure this object speedily, as also from fifty to one hundred caps introduced by Major Delafield without the plate, of course? The muskets and equipment will be obtained from the U. S. Government, free of charge. It will, consequently, be sufficient to apply for them in the proper quarter, and correspond with General Peyton, if necessary, on the subject, as regards the caps. If you can purchase them, you can draw, or direct the merchant to draw, on Mr. Hugh Barclay, the Treasurer of the Institution."*

Observe how Crozet used the word, "Institute." That was the term he applied by habit to his own Alma Mater. Can it be doubted that he proposed the name to Preston? Also, observe that he is in Lexington busying himself with his pet hobby. Honoring General Smith for his superb executive ability, we must in justice to truth deny him both the titles of "father" and of "founder" of the Institute, *for such was Claude Crozet.*

The annual cost to the State of maintaining the Lexington Arsenal and the Guard therefor was $6,000. Upon the creation of the Institute, as a substitute for the Arsenal, the same amount was provided for the support of the school. This annuity was quite inadequate, and the available quarters and facilities were equally so. But, in September, 1839, twenty State Cadets and thirteen Pay Cadets were appointed by the Board, and ordered to report for duty November 11th.

*Smith's History, p. 46.

The Superintendent met the Board for the first time on the 11th of November, 1839, when he reported for duty, and was placed in command of the Virginia Military Institute. He was, personally, a stranger to every member of the Board, but was received by them with such courtesy and consideration as to inspire him with great encouragement and hopefulness as he entered upon the discharge of his responsible duties.

Twenty cadets reported for duty, were examined by the Superintendent in Franklin Hall, in the presence of the Board of Visitors; and, their duties having been fully explained to them, under the regulations, they signed their matriculation obligation, and were then marched by their commanding officer to the Arsenal, relieving the Public Guard of their duty, and were placed in charge of the public property; while Adjutant-General Peyton raised the flag of Virginia over the walls of the Virginia Military Institute, to signalize the exclusive proprietorship of Virginia in the Institution, and her purpose to maintain and defend it.

Such was the inspiring ceremony attending the entrance of America's *second* School of Arms upon the field of national—nay more, world-wide usefulness. The incident was epochal; and what were the sentiments animating those who participated in the dedication of this School of Arms to the Majesty of Virginia, can only be suggested by the lines which a noble woman, the wife of the first Superintendent, contributed to the occasion. As we read them, we are reminded of the prayer which a little group of Englishmen offered to God May 13, 1607, as they stood with heads bared and bowed on the strange shore of Jamestown Island, and of those other pilgrims who later knelt upon the rock of Plymouth,—both with an unknown world and future stretching out before them:

"Our work is nobly done,
We have raised our flag on high,
A pledge is made at Freedom's shrine
That speaks in every eye;

And hearts with fervor and with faith
In youthful courage strong,
Are echoing back the patriot cry:
My country, right or wrong.

"It is waving high in air,
And Liberty's proud form,
Borne upward by the mountain breeze,
In sunshine and in storm,
Is planted on the tyrant's breast;
Thus shall it ever be,
For while Virginia owns her name,
Her gallant sons are free.

"It is waving high in air,
We will guard it while we live,
Our fathers shed their hearts
This heritage to give.
No traitor spirit soils our ranks,
Our birthright we will keep,
And freemen proudly tread the soil,
Till under it we sleep."

These lofty sentiments proved to be no vain boast, for within a quarter of a century from the day they were expressed,—a day when nature gently spread her carpet of snow over the blue hills which surrounded the scene, as if in token of the purity of the new-born child,—Virginia's soil was reddened with the blood of many of those present, including a number of the twenty cadets who, on November 11, 1839, pledged their allegiance to the Old Dominion. Within that time, 249 *élèves* of the Virginia Military Institute proved their devotion to the flag they had been taught to follow by offering up their lives upon the altar of Liberty! Verily, did the school of Crozet make useful citizens of Virginia's youth! Verily, did the form of Washington which stood before the sally-port of their barracks inspire them with that patriotism synonymous with his name; for when the Mother of States uttered in the anguish of her soul the battle-cry of freedom, over 1,700 of her children, bearing on their shields the V. M. I. motto, "In Pace Decus, In Bello Præsidium," seized their arms and responded to

her summons! Glorious, glorious record, unequalled in the history of man! Can it be forgotten by the Southland or any other country where men are bred? How noble the precept, how priceless the heritage, Virginia's Military Institute has transmitted to the posterity of our united nation. Let it be forgotten that these valiant sons of the V. M. I. arrayed themselves in battle against their fellow-men, and only let it be remembered, and recorded in paraphrase:

They pledged themselves at Freedom's shrine,
In youthful courage strong,
And echoed back the patriot's cry:
"My country, right or wrong."
No traitor spirit soiled their ranks,
Their lives a birthright kept:
With honor bled for native soil,
Till under it they slept.

CHAPTER III

"THE WEST POINT OF THE SOUTH" AND MAJOR GILHAM

WE can not in a work of this character expect to follow out in detail the physical development of the Virginia Military Institute. Suffice it to say that the Superintendent fully comprehended the opportunity before him and with great zeal turned every advantage to account. The following brief account of the physical condition of the post when turned over to the Virginia Military Institute is interesting:*

"The buildings, as they were occupied by the old State Guard, consisted of a barracks of brick, two stories high, and an Arsenal four stories high, also of brick, containing boxes packed with flint-lock muskets and rifles, cartridge boxes and 'pipe clay' leather belts. The buildings were enclosed by a brick wall, twenty feet high, and the windows of the Barracks were securely defended by stout iron bars, to restrain the wandering propensities of the guard. The only lights used for the cadets were tin lamps in which whale oil was burned. The water consumed by cadets, both for ablution and for drinking purposes, was hauled in barrels from springs near the grounds.

"The basement of the Arsenal, with a brick floor, was utilized for a mess hall, and was heated by an ordinary iron stove. The steward and commissary, with his family, occupied two or three rooms in the central portion of the second story of the Barracks.

"The present parade ground was partly under cultivation as a corn field, intersected by worm fences, and unoccupied by any buildings except a few log cabins, which were utilized as section rooms. There was no professor's house as yet constructed; except a brick house, built for the Superintendent, Major Smith,

*Written by Col. Edmund Pendleton, Class of 1842, one of the original matriculates, for the V. M. I. *Bomb* of 1896.

which stood at the west end of the Barracks, with its gable fronting southward.

"The only tree on the parade ground at that time was the hickory known as the 'Guard Tree,' which still stands on the grounds. There were a few cedar trees on the face of the hill, which have long since ceased to exist. The face of the hill was deeply cut by gullies, which have since been filled up. No path or avenue at that time connected the V. M. I. with Washington College, and the only way of reaching the town of Lexington was by a pathway leading down the hill to the extension of Main Street.

. . . . . .

"Those who are old enough to remember the winter of 1839 and '40, will recall it as a winter conspicuous for its severity. The ground, from the 11th of November, was covered with snow for the greater portion of the winter. But military discipline and the regular performance of guard duty was strictly enforced in spite of the weather. At that time no tailors had been appointed at the Institute, and the sole dependence of the cadets for proper clothing was upon the few tailors in the town of Lexington. The clothing department was not yet organized, and not until after the newly-appointed cadets had arrived, were any purchases made of cloth or buttons for the uniforms. The temporary supply of rough blanket overcoats was purchased for the use of the sentinels, to protect them against the severe wintry blasts. The consequence was that colds were very prevalent among the cadets, and great dissatisfaction and a spirit of mutiny prevailed to a large extent. So much so that a meeting assembled and angrily discussed the question whether they would not disband and return to their homes. This action, on being put to the vote, very narrowly escaped being decided in the affirmative; but the resolute spirit of a few of the cadets, upheld and encouraged by their young Superintendent, who was then but twenty-six years old, saved the imperilled life of the Institute."

It is proper to record here the names of the original matriculates in the Corps of Cadets, or those cadets who comprised the Corps of 1839-40. They were:

1. John S. L. Logan, of Rockbridge County.
2. Philip J. Winn, of Fluvanna County.
*3. Thomas J. B. Cramer, of Frederick County.
4. James Kanney, of Rockingham County.
5. John W. Jones, of Shenandoah County.
*6. John T. Smith, of Norfolk City.
*7. James H. Jameson, of Culpeper County.
*8. Charles P. Deyerle, of Roanoke County.
*9. Valentine C. Saunders, of Loudoun County.
*10. W. M. Elliott, of Buckingham County.
*11. John B. Strange, of Albemarle County.
12. Benjamin Sharp, of Lee County.
13. Charles A. Crump, of Powhatan County.
*14. O. M. Knight, of Nottoway County.
15. B. B. Tibbs, of Monongalia County.
*16. James H. Lawrence, of Caroline County.
*17. William A. Forbes, of Richmond City.
18. Henry B. Sumpter, of Campbell County.
*19. Edmund Pendleton, of Botetourt County.
*20. William D. Fair, of Amherst County.
*21. William S. Beale, of Shenandoah County.
*22. Joseph W. Bell, of Augusta County.
23. C. E. Carter, of Albemarle County.
*24. William H. Henderson, of Loudoun County.
*25. Louis A. Garnett, of Essex County.
*26. James Marshall, of Warren County.
27. Lemuel B. Pryor, of Brunswick County.
28. David Chilton, of Kanawha County.
29. Hamilton L. Shields, of Norfolk City.
30. John S. Swann, of Powhatan County.
31. R. B. Worthington, of ——— ———.

Of the foregoing named matriculates Shields and Swann entered the Institute December 5, 1839; Worthington March 1, 1840, and all the others at the opening of the Institute. Those before whose name appears a star were graduated in 1842 except Beale, who was graduated the following year.

As the spring of 1840 opened, practical military instruction was commenced and the 31 cadets in their trim coatees soon comprised a natty military company as

excellent in drill as in discipline and personnel. From the hour Major Smith took command of the little Corps, every cadet had been held to a strict account for the performance of his duty. The first order of the Commandant had dispelled any idea that may have been entertained that the military duty of the cadet was to be a farce. That order is here inserted:

"VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE,
"LEXINGTON, VA., November 11, 1889.

"ORDERS—No. 1.

"I. Maj. Francis H. Smith assumes command of the Virginia Military Institute. All reports, permits, etc., will be made to him during the morning office hours.

"II. The present guard will consist of one sergeant, one corporal, and three privates, and one sentinel will be habitually posted at the main gate.

"III. The following temporary appointments are made:

"Cadet W. D. Fair, to be Adjutant of Corps of Cadets.
"Cadet H. B. Sumpter, to be First Sergeant.
"Cadet J. H. Jameson, to be Second Sergeant.
"Cadet L. A. Garnett, to be Third Sergeant.
"Cadet J. H. Lawrence, to be Fourth Sergeant.
"Cadet C. E. Carter, to be First Corporal.
"Cadet W. S. Beale, to be Second Corporal.
"Cadet T. J. B. Cramer, to be Third Corporal.
"Cadet J. W. Jones, to be Fourth Corporal.
"Cadet V. C. Saunders, to be Fifth Corporal.

"IV. The exercises of the Institute will commence on Monday next, by which time cadets will apply to Mr. Hugh Barclay for one copy each of the following text-books:

"Davies Bourdon's Algebra,
"Levizac's French Grammar.
"By Order,

"FRANCIS H. SMITH,
"Major Commanding."

The first Guard-Book is still on file at the Institute. It might be easily taken for the one of yesterday.

The organization of the Corps included, besides the Commandant and the cadets, the negro musicians, Reuben Howard and Mike, drummer and fifer formerly attached to the Arsenal Guard.

During the cold winter of 1839-40, in which many hardships were encountered by the Commandant and the cadets, two new members were appointed to the Board of Visitors. These were Adjutant-General William H. Richardson, *vice* Peyton, and General William Ligon, a veteran of the War of 1812, *vice* Wiley.

The Board met in Lexington in June to conduct the annual examinations and to inspect the Corps of Cadets. Colonel Crozet conducted the academic examination with the skill for which he was noted, and the diminutive Corps was reviewed by the Board. So satisfactory were the results of the first year's work found to be that from that day the Institute bore the title of "West Point of the South," and its fame rapidly spread abroad. The title did not originate, as is thought by some, at the time of the War between the States, when so many graduates and *élèves* of the Institute entered the military service.

In June, 1840, the Corps was more than doubled in size, and the number of applicants for admission as Pay Cadets largely exceeded the number which the Institute could accommodate. It now became necessary to revise the original Regulations and it was at this time that the General Assembly authorized the granting of commissions in the Volunteers of the Commonwealth to the professorial staff of the Institute, according to the grade fixed by the Board of Visitors. The Principal Professor now became Superintendent, with rank of colonel; the only other professor, John T. L. Preston, who had so earnestly advocated the establishment of the School, was dignified with the title of Major.

The need of an additional professor now became a pressing one, and the name of Thomas Hoomes Williamson, Esq., of Norfolk, was suggested to the Board by the Superintendent. Mr. Williamson was a former classmate of Colonel Smith's at the Academy, but failed in Languages his third year. He was a good soldier, however, and well equipped by training to teach Tactics and Drawing. Accordingly, July 19, 1841, he was appointed Professor of Tactics and Drawing, and

assigned to duty as Commandant of Cadets, with rank of captain, being the second Commandant of the Institute.

In William H. Richardson, the new Adjutant-General, the Institute found a warm friend and ardent supporter. From 1841 to 1865, and from 1866 to 1876, he was Adjutant-General of Virginia, and, as an *ex-officio* member of the Board, his services were conspicuously valuable to the School. In every way possible he furthered its interests; and his dying request was that no monument but a simple stone be placed over his grave with the inscription:

"Placed here by the Graduates of the Virginia Military Institute."

Since this request was made it has been fulfilled, for in 1875 the Rev. Charles D. Walker, V. M. I., '69, inscribed in his memorial volume containing the biographical sketches of the graduates and *élèves* of the Institute who fell in the War between the States the following words: "To General William H. Richardson, Adjutant-General of the State of Virginia, and the life-long friend of the V. M. I., this record of those of his boys who died for the cause is affectionately dedicated." The record of those valiant youths is indeed a noble memorial.

As evidence of his faith in the School, he entered his son as a cadet in the fall of 1840, and William H. Richardson, Jr., became an Assistant Professor and the first Adjutant of the Virginia Military Institute, after graduating with the Class of 1844.*

It was through the influence of General Richardson that the Corps of Cadets was ordered to Richmond in January, 1842, to be examined and inspected by the

*William H. Richardson was born in Richmond City on Dec. 18, 1795, the son of Major George Richardson, a Revolutionary officer. He served in the War of 1812 as lieutenant in Captain Edmund Taylor's rifle regiment with commission dated on May 31, 1813. He became captain of the company in 1815. In 1821 he was appointed clerk of the Executive Council, which office he held until the Council was abolished in 1852 by the new constitution. Richardson then became Secretary of the Commonwealth for about a year. After the resignation of Adjutant-General Bernard Peyton he was appointed to the office and remained in it until his death on September 1, 1876. In addition to his clerical and military services he organized the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of Virginia in 1844, and was its president for several years.

General Assembly. As a friend and admirer of the Institute, he believed a more intimate knowledge of the work of the School, on the part of the members of the Assembly, would produce the most favorable results; and in this he was not mistaken.

The appearance of the Corps in Richmond created a profound impression in the minds of the people of the State. The great body of legislators had followed the proceedings of the more enthusiastic adherents of the Military Institute in a listless way, voting for the various measures proposed in connection with its organization, not because of any especial interest in the undertaking, but because they had no sufficient reasons to oppose the importunities of the few enthusiasts. The people of the State at large knew little of the School, and few, even in Richmond, conceived the real character of the infant institution. And, so, when the superb body of 60 cadets paraded the streets of the capital city, the popular imagination was aroused and great crowds followed the splendidly-drilled Corps, from place to place.

The cadets were examined before the House of Delegates in the various subjects of their curriculum by three Cadet Instructors who not only demonstrated the proficiency of the academic instruction of the entire Corps, but their own high efficiency as trained teachers. The Legislature was immensely pleased and a public collation was tendered the cadets by the people of Richmond. On this occasion, a stand of colors was presented the little Battalion by the veteran soldier, Gen. William Ligon,—a beautiful flag bearing the inscription, "Virginia Military Institute." When, during the ceremony of presentation, the "Flag of the V. M. I." was toasted, the Color-Sergeant, Cadet William S. Beale,* sprang upon a table, and, as he grasped the colors with his right hand, responded:

"Let him bear it who is able to defend it."

*This noble young man, a nephew of General William Steenbergen, a short while after his graduation, was drowned in the Ohio River in a heroic effort to save the life of a negro boatman, after he had rescued from drowning his cousin to whom he was engaged to be married.

Society of the Cincinnati, in the sum of $15,000. This endowment was dependent on the establishment by the College of a chair of Military Science and Gunnery. As soon, therefore, as the Institute was put in operation, Major Smith was appointed Cincinnati Professor of Military Science in the College, and a squad of students was formed as the "Cincinnati Class," and regularly drilled with the cadets, wearing practically the same uniform as the latter. In return for the service thus rendered by the Institute, cadets were privileged to pursue the course of Chemistry at the College. The arrangement was not an advantageous one to the Institute for many reasons, among others that the College students were not subject to discipline. Their disorders frequently brought discredit upon the Institute, for they were not distinguishable from cadets by reason of the similarity of uniforms. Fortunately, the relationship was terminated by the College, February 22, 1845; but Washington College, now Washington and Lee University, continues to receive the benefaction of the great patriotic society; and the remarkable anomaly exists of one institution in Lexington obtaining an annuity for instruction it does not give, while the Military School of the State with its highly developed course of military science and practical instruction, situated in the same town, receives nothing from the Cincinnati endowment.*

Upon the severance of the relations of the two Institutions of learning in Lexington, it became necessary to place instruction in the Physical Sciences at the Institute upon a higher plane, and an addition of $7,000.00 to the annuity by the Legislature enabled the Board to create a new and distinct department in 1846.

To fill the chair thus created was a difficult matter, for it was comtemplated that the new professor should also perform the duties of Commandant of Cadets and

*At its annual meeting in September, 1913, the Virginia Society of the Cincinnati voted an annual allowance to the Institute as a scholarship aggregating several hundred dollars and also a gold medal for the cadet of highest general merit.

Instructor of Tactics, relieving the overburdened Captain Williamson of his military duties. The new professor must, therefore, be a soldier and the greater his experience as such, the better.

In the selection of the new professor and commandant, the West Point influence again made itself felt.

Proud of the Institute, Colonel Smith had frequently invited his distinguished friends at the United States Military Academy to visit him in Lexington, and witness the results of his work. Among others who attended the graduating exercises and examinations were Professors Bartlett, Church, and Mahan of West Point. And, so, when the Superintendent made known his wants to these illustrious teachers, it was natural that Professor Bartlett should recommend the appointment of his brilliant and talented young assistant in the department of Natural Philosophy at the Academy, William Gilham.

William Gilham was born in Indiana and was appointed a cadet at West Point July 1, 1836, graduating with distinction with the Class of 1840. Assigned to the Third Artillery with the rank of second lieutenant, he received his promotion October 23, 1841, and as a first lieutenant participated under General Zachary Taylor in the Mexican War. In the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca he was distinguished for gallantry. Before the declaration of peace, the young officer was ordered back to the Academy, as assistant to Professor Bartlett, and had served as such with notable success, when he was tendered the appointment as Commandant of Cadets, Instructor of Tactics, and Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy and Chemistry, with rank of major.

Lieutenant Gilham at once accepted the appointment tendered him, and resigned his commission in the army, October 17, 1846. "Quick, accurate, and self-possessed, he had a magnetic power of command which made the drill of the Corps the equal, if not the superior, of that at West Point. In command of the Battalion

of Cadets, Major Gilham had no superior." Such was the estimate of the Superintendent.

In addition to his military service at the Institute, Major Gilham organized and conducted the first course in Scientific Agriculture and Industrial Chemistry in the South. But to his greatest work we shall refer later.

Another distinguished soldier was now associated with the Institute as a member of the Board of Visitors in the person of Philip St. George Cocke, who was graduated from West Point in 1832, but resigned his commission as Second Lieutenant, Second Artillery, April 1, 1834. He was a man of unusual wealth and of great social and political influence, and hence, was a distinct acquisition to the Institute when appointed to the Board of Visitors in 1846.*

Other recent appointments of military note to the Board were those of Captain Charles Dimmock, U. S. M. A., 1821, who resigned his commission as a captain in the First Artillery, September 30, 1836,** and General Carter Braxton. Thus we see that as time went by the necessity of maintaining a preponderant military influence in the Board was not lost sight of. With Crozet, Cocke, and Dimmock, on the Board, and Smith, Williamson, and Gilham in the faculty, all from West Point, the influence which the national Academy bore in the affairs of the Institute can hardly be exaggerated. When we consider, with these, the other soldiers on the Board, a highly military character in the governing body seems to have been jealously preserved as its essential feature.

The continued enlargement of the Corps, and the splendid work of the Institute, led to the appropriation by the General Assembly, March 8, 1850, of $46,000, for the erection of a suitable barracks. For this material recognition of the Institute, its thanks were largely due General Richardson and Cocke, who were

*Appointed Brigadier-General C. S. A., October 21, 1861.

**Captain Dimmock was born in Massachusetts, but was appointed Colonel C. S. A. and Chief of Ordnance of Virginia, in 1861, a position for which George H. Thomas, later Major-General, U. S. Army, applied in January, 1861.

equally enthusiastic with Colonel Crozet in their support of the School. Up to this time, said Cocke, "his negroes were better quartered than the cadets."

To further the interest of the School by again attracting the attention of the Legislature, and by appealing to its pride in the School, thus insuring the passage of the Act appropriating the needed funds, General Richardson had again caused the Corps in February to be ordered to Richmond to attend the ceremonies connected with the laying of the corner-stone of the Washington monument. He well knew that nothing would so appeal to the people of the State, and especially to the legislators, as the visible results being produced at Lexington.

The Corps now had a battalion organization of two companies, and, under Major Gilham's efficient command, had attained a remarkable degree of military proficiency. Its drill was superb; its equipment modern and complete in every respect; and the personnel of its officers and cadets was of the highest social order. Numbered among its one hundred cadets were the scions of many of Virginia's most distinguished families, and the prominent positions in the affairs of the State which its graduates,—numbering over one hundred at this time,—had assumed, added lustre and influence to the Institute. Well might its unparalleled rise in popularity throughout the State arouse the jealous attention of its sister institutions. And this is exactly what happened; for already its progress was beset with the open hostility of the friends of Washington College, hostility which in its unreasonableness only attracted a higher regard to the object of its unjust attacks.

General Zachary Taylor, then President of the United States, was invited to attend the ceremonies in Richmond on February 22, 1850, the one hundred and eighteenth anniversary of the birth of Washington. He accepted the invitation, and, at once, Governor John B. Floyd of Virginia, former Secretary of War of the United States, and only recently become a

member of the Board of Visitors of the Institute, tendered the services of the Corps of Cadets as his body-guard, an offer which the President accepted with pleasure.

The work of designing and casting the bronze figures of the Washington Monument had been assigned to the great American Sculptor, Thomas Crawford, and his models had been favorably received. The corner-stone of what has been styled the finest monument of its kind in America, the total cost of which was $260,000, was laid with imposing ceremonies, and most of the military organizations of the State, as well as troops from elsewhere, participated therein. But none of these compared with the Cadet Corps, which won the unstinted plaudits of the assembled populace, and the highest praise from the dignitaries and military men of the State and nation who were present on the interesting occasion.

The Alumni were overjoyed at the way the Corps was received, and, to express their own pride, presented through James B. Dorman, Esq., a member of the House of Delegates, and a private of the Class of 1848, the second stand of Battalion colors. Cadet Charles Denby, who was graduated with the Class of 1850, and who became Minister to China in 1885, received the flag for the Corps, that function being his prerogative as senior cadet-officer.*

For many years the Corps of Cadets bore these colors. In the battle of New Market they created much confusion in the minds of the Federals, who were unfamiliar with the white flag. Indeed, it has been recorded by one Federal officer that the perfectly drilled Battalion of Cadets, bearing a strange white flag, and maneuvering with unusual precision, led many of his comrades at first to believe the Corps was some foreign command.

An especial effort has been made by the author to secure a detailed description of these colors which

*Denby became a colonel in the Federal Army during the war, served with distinction, and sent his son to the Institute. The latter graduated in 1899.

would prove generally acceptable to those who followed them, but it is difficult to obtain universal agreement. Unfortunately the original flag was removed from its staff while the cadets were evacuating Lexington in June, 1864, and after being much torn by cadets wishing to preserve a relic of their battle flag, was hidden in a hedge in the yard of the house formerly occupied by "Stonewall" Jackson on the campus of Washington College. Upon the return of the Corps of Cadets to the Institute after Hunter's raid, no trace of the tattered flag remained. The only piece of it known to exist was presented to the Institute in June, 1914, by a grandson of General Francis H. Smith, and is now jealously guarded in the library museum.

The best description of the flag I have been able to obtain is that of Captain B. A. Colonna. "The staff was about 9 or 10 feet long, made of fine-grained ash and surmounted by a brass eagle. The flag was made of white corded silk, and had a gold fringe on the outer end and top and bottom. The right field was emblazoned with the State coat of arms of the usual size, and below it, appeared the motto—*Sic Semper Tyrannis*. The left field was emblazoned with the head of General Washington above a U. S. shield, behind which were crossed two U. S. flags at a fairly flat angle. Below the flags, were crossed cannon, muskets, etc., and under them appeared cannon balls. The shield was surmounted by an eagle clutching arrows in one claw, and an olive branch in the other."

Captain Colonna omits all reference to the name—Virginia Military Institute—which many old cadets claim appeared below the head of Washington.

In 1909, at the inauguration of President Taft in Washington, the New York Alumni Chapter presented to the Corps of Cadets, through Major-General J. Franklin Bell, Chief of Staff, U. S. Army, a stand of colors purporting to be a replica of the old cadet colors, but the designer of the new flag, John S. Wise, father of the author, repeatedly stated that he was un-

able to recall in detail the original except that it was white and displayed the head of Washington. The new flag was not really intended by him to be a replica, but was designed for the principal purpose of preserving the characteristic features of the old one, which were the white field and the head of Washington—emblematic in themselves and appropriate as a souvenir of the occasion, on which the colors were first presented to the Corps of Cadets, or the anniversary of the birth of the great and pure "Father of His Country."

The people of Richmond generally, as well as the Alumni and patrons of the Institute, extended every hospitality to the Cadets, while in Richmond, in February, 1850. Not only was the Corps toasted and entertained as a military organization, but invitations of all kinds were showered upon the officers and cadets individually, and the authorities were importuned to order the Corps to Norfolk and Petersburg, as the guest of those cities. So pressing were these invitations that the Superintendent and the Board of Visitors consented without reluctance to their acceptance, upon being persuaded by the Adjutant-General, and Mr. Cocke, now President of the Board, of the value of the proposed excursion as an advertisement.

In both Norfolk and Petersburg the Corps received the most gratifying ovations, and by reason of the soldierly conduct of the cadets, the popularity of the Institute was greatly enhanced. Such was the wise means adopted by the Board to insure the successful issue of the pending appropriations, which followed almost instantly.

Not alone were the people of Virginia well pleased with the Corps. President Taylor was so delighted with Major Gilham's command, which had served as his escort of honor, that in token of his gratitude to the Institute, and the high esteem in which he held the Corps, he ordered the United States Ordnance Department to turn out a six-piece battery of field artillery complete, with four 6-pounder guns and two 12-pounder howitzers.

The pieces he directed to be cast 200 pounds lighter than those regularly employed, each bearing on the chase the coat of arms of Virginia.

The battery was soon completed and delivered in Lexington, and the Board of Visitors at once began to seriously consider the matter of instruction in Gunnery and practical artillery drill, which President Taylor's superb gift was designed to bring about.

This of course delighted the Superintendent and the Commandant, both of whom had served in the Field Artillery; and Philip St. George Cocke, a former artilleryman himself, was no mean supporter of the plan to enlarge the scope of military instruction. General Richardson, as usual, stood by the guns; and, arrayed with those in favor of the plan, were General Corbin Braxton, General Peter H. Steenbergen, General E. P. Scott, and General Douglas B. Layne, all recent appointees to the Board of Visitors. Even had they opposed the measure, the five civilian members—Chas. J. Faulkner, William W. Crump, Harvey George, John S. Carlisle, Esquires, and Dr. C. E. Robinson—would have been overruled by the military sentiment of the Board.*

As a School of Arms the Virginia Military Institute has been fortunate in that from the days of its infancy, it has been able to cherish with pride traditions attaching to the names of its *élèves*. Noble traditions make gallant soldiers. Unfortunate indeed is the race, the state, or the military organization without the inspiration of tradition. The founders of Virginia's School of Arms had but a brief time to wait ere they could point to the achievements of its sons, upon the red fields of war in the service of their country, for among those who rushed to arms in May, 1846, were twenty-five *élèves* of the Institute. Of this number nine served in the regular army and sixteen in the

*Between 1845 and 1850 General Carter Braxton, Col. John Jordan, and John B. Floyd, were, besides those mentioned, notable appointees to the Board of Visitors. Colonel Crozet had relinquished his office in 1844, upon removing to Louisiana, and Generals Botts, Johnston, Ligon, Dorman, and Captain Dimmock, had been superseded.

Volunteers. The following is the roll of those who fought in the Mexican War:

1. Brevet Major Arthur Campbell Cummings, 11th U. S. Infantry, wounded at Paso Orejas.
2. Brevet Captain Daniel Smith Lee, 11th U. S. Infantry.
3. Brevet Captain Hamilton LeRoy Shields, 3rd U. S. Artillery.
4. First Lieutenant Birkett Davenport Fry, U. S. Voltigeurs.
5. Second Lieutenant Richard Carlton Radford, 1st U. S. Dragoons.
6. Second Lieutenant Andrew Jackson, 3d U. S. Infantry.
7. Second Lieutenant Isaac Williams Smith, U. S. Voltigeurs.
8. Second Lieutenant James Edwin Slaughter, U. S. Voltigeurs.
9. Surgeon Charles Peter Deyerle.
10. Captain Edward Codrington Carrington, 1st Va. Reg.
11. First Lieutenant George Alexander Porterfield, 1st Va. Reg.
12. First Lieutenant William Arthur Scott, 1st Va. Reg.
13. First Lieutenant James Lawrenson Bryant, 1st Va. Reg.
14. First Lieutenant Thomas Stuart Garnett, 1st Va. Reg.
15. Second Lieutenant Carlton Radford Munford, 1st Va. Reg.; died in service.
16. Second Lieutenant Robert Henry Keeling, 1st Va. Reg.
17. Second Lieutenant Harry Watson Williamson, 1st Va. Reg.
18. Second Lieutenant Beverley T. Hunter, Louisiana Voltigeurs.
19. Second Lieutenant Alexander Cassius Layne, 1st Va. Reg.
20. Sergeant Major James Baldwin Dorman, Texas Rangers.
21. Corporal Benjamin Franklin Ficklin, U. S. Army.
22. Private Anthony Webster Southall, 1st Va. Reg.; died of results of service.
23. Private Charles Everett Carter, Palmetto Regiment, S. C.; died in service.
24. Private Reuben G. Ross, 1st Va. Reg.
25. Private Alexander McNutt McCorkle, U. S. Army; died in service.

Considering the fact that the School had been in existence but little over six years, and had graduated but four classes when the war with Mexico broke out, the record it established in that war was indeed one to be proud of. It indicated clearly at the time what the country might expect in future years.

CHAPTER IV

THE COMING OF JACKSON

THE successful visits of the Corps to the three largest cities of the State added greatly to the prestige of the Institute, and its numbers might have been greatly increased had suitable quarters been available. But work on the new barracks had already begun, and the physical development of the School was being pushed with energy, in order that the increasing number of applicants might be accepted. More than ever was the military character of the School appreciated, and the efforts of the governing authorities directed to the perfection of its military instruction.

In 1850, sectional war was by no means seriously contemplated by the people of America at large. Statesmen and students of politics may have foreseen the inevitable struggle; but men in the ordinary walks of life, while bitterly hostile in their feelings to what they deemed aggressions on the part of the North, thought little of the impending conflict. It is a notable fact, therefore, that Judge John W. Brockenbrough, in his speech on July 4, 1850, upon which day the cornerstone of the new barracks was laid, eleven years before Virginia seceded, pointed out the dark cloud which lowered in the North; and it was a no less singular coincidence that the foundation of that great structure, destined to shelter so many gallant Confederate officers, should have been laid under the presage of the conflict in which they were so soon to be engaged.

The Board of Visitors was composed of that class of men who busied themselves with the future of the State. They foresaw the inevitable; and, as the Institute was the School of Arms of Virginia, so was it the seat of military preparedness. To relieve Major Gilham of much of his professional work, thus leaving him

freer for his military duties, and also to provide an instructor of Artillery, the Board now determined to look about for one possessing the requisites for the position.

It was unanimously agreed that the appointee should be a West Pointer; and, in order to seek the advice of the Superintendent and the professors of the Academy, Colonel Smith repaired to West Point, and then visited the War Department in Washington.

The result of Colonel Smith's investigations was that many names were suggested for his consideration; among the more prominent being those of George Brinton McClellan, of Pennsylvania, Second Lieutenant of Engineers; Jesse Lee Reno, of Virginia, Second Lieutenant of Ordnance; and William Starke Rosecrans, of Ohio, Second Lieutenant of Engineers.

These names are significant, for it will be observed they were those of officers of the branches of the service characterized by the high intellectual qualities of their officers. The authorities at West Point and the War Department well knew the character of man of whom the Institute was in need; and the fact that they proposed the names of McClellan, Reno and Rosecrans, is indicative of their regard for the Institute.

McClellan was at that time only twenty-five years of age, but he was a graduate of the Academy, Class of 1846, and, like Gilham, a veteran of the Mexican War in which he was brevetted first lieutenant of Engineers for gallant and meritorious conduct at Contreras and Churubusco, and captain for equally conspicuous conduct at Chapultepec. At the close of the war he had been ordered back to West Point in command of the Engineer company stationed there, and assigned to duty as assistant instructor of Practical Engineering. While at the Academy, he had prepared a Manual of Bayonet Exercises, which he adapted from the French, and which was immediately introduced into the system of instruction. Thus McClellan, even in 1850, was a marked man. The next year he was designated to sup-

COLONEL CLAUDE CROZET

FOUNDER OF THE VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE

erintend the construction of Fort Delaware; and in 1852 he accompanied Captain R. B. Marcy on the Red River exploring expedition. In 1853 and 1854, he was engaged in exploring a route for the proposed Pacific Railroad through Washington Territory and Oregon; and in the spring of 1855 he was appointed to a military commission created to visit Europe for the purpose of studying the organization of the Continental Armies. This commission, the other members of which were Major Richard Delafield and Major Alfred Mordecai, both of the Engineers, proceeded at once to Europe, and soon repaired to the Crimea where they were most hospitably received by General Simpson, commander of the British forces, and accorded by him every opportunity to witness the siege operations of Sebastapol. McClellan's report on the arms, equipments, and organization of "the three arms" was, wrote a distinguished soldier, "a model of conciseness and accurate information, and added to his already brilliant reputation."

As is well known, McClellan became, in 1861, a Major-General of United States Volunteers, and after McDowell's disastrous defeat at First Manassas in July, was placed in command of the army defending Washington; relieved after the failure of the Peninsula campaign of 1862; recalled to his exalted command after Pope's overthrow at Second Manassas; and at Antietam shattered the Army of Northern Virginia, compelling General Lee to forego the invasion of the North and return with his army to Virginia. Whatever may have been his defects and weaknesses as a tactical commander, he was, undoubtedly, the ablest organizer the Federal Army produced. The fighting machine he created out of nothing in the summer and fall of 1861 (or the Army of the Potomac) was by far the finest army the Federal Government sent afield, and growing stronger and stronger under repeated disasters, well calculated to destroy any army, was destined on many occasions to save the Republic, and ultimately

to vanquish the Southern arms. It was the brilliant genius of McClellan which made possible the victories of Grant; and it was McClellan, himself, who, on at least two occasions, denied the Confederate States of America success. These facts are mentioned in connection with our narrative because it is a matter of important conjecture what might have been the course of history had the young soldier, always partial to the sentiments of the South, been appointed a professor in 1851 at the Virginia Military Institute, and thereby thrown into closer relations with the Southern people. As it was, his candidacy for the presidency of the United States held prospects of an adjustment between the North and the South favorable to the latter.

Lieutenant Reno, U. S. M. A. 1846, was also brevetted, first as a first lieutenant for conspicuous conduct at Cerro Gordo, and then as captain for gallant and meritorious conduct at Chapultepec. While his reputation was not as great as that of McClellan, he was recognized as one of the most superior young officers in the service. In 1861 he became Brigadier-General of United States Volunteers; in 1862 Major-General; and was killed at South Mountain, Md., soon after this promotion.

William Starke Rosecrans was graduated from the Academy in 1842. He also was a young officer of the highest character, and a veteran of the Mexican War. Resigning from the army in 1854, he re-entered the service at the outbreak of the war, and rose to the grade of Major-General U. S. Volunteers in 1862. His military service during the war won for him the thanks of Congress.

There were others besides McClellan, Reno, and Rosecrans, prominently mentioned to the Board of Visitors of the Institute; among whom may be mentioned Gustavus W. Smith, of Kentucky, who became a major-general, C. S. A., in 1861, and won fame as a soldier in the service of the Confederacy. The selection of any one of these eminently qualified men would have

been justified by their distinguished records. The important professorship at the Institute, however, was offered to none of them, but finally to a classmate of McClellan and Reno; and it came about in this way.

In February, 1849, First Lieutenant and Brevet Major Daniel Harvey Hill, U. S. Artillery, of South Carolina, afterwards the celebrated Lieutenant-General D. H. Hill of the Confederacy, resigned his commission in the army to accept a chair at Washington College, Lexington. Major Hill, twice brevetted for conspicuous gallantry in the battles of Contreras, Churubusco, and Chapultepec, was a graduate of the United States Military Academy, of the Class of 1842, and was well acquainted with McClellan, Reno, and Rosecrans.

It so happened that soon after Colonel Smith's return from his visit to West Point and the War Department, Major Hill called upon the Superintendent of the Institute and found him much perplexed and annoyed in consequence of a difference which had recently arisen between himself and the Board of Visitors over the appointment of the new professor. In Colonel Smith's absence politics had entered into the matter, and strong pressure was being exerted upon the Board for the appointment of Captain Robert Emmet Rodes, of Lynchburg, a graduate of the Institute of the Class of 1838, then serving as an Assistant Professor at the Institute. Rodes had many influential friends, and was a man of exceptional ability, as proven by his subsequent career as Major-General, C. S. A. Colonel Smith recognized his merit, but was firm in his determination to secure a West Pointer, and in this he was supported by Philip St. George Cocke, President of the Board, himself a graduate of the Academy. West Pointers in those days, as now, were wont to consider the Academy as the source of all military knowledge; and this evident spirit was resented by the Board at large; and as a result much ill-feeling arose between the two factions. Cocke and Smith, however, carried their

point and the chair was tendered Professor Alexander Peter Stewart, of Cumberland University, Tennessee. Stewart was a Tennesseean, who had graduated from West Point in 1842, served three years in the Third Artillery, and resigned his commission as second lieutenant May 31, 1845. Well satisfied with his present position, he declined the offer. He subsequently rose to the grade of lieutenant-general, C. S. A., and was among the most celebrated officers of the Confederacy.

Again, the appointment of Rodes was being urged, when Colonel Smith introduced the subject in conversation with Major Hill, and handed him an Army Register, with the request that he suggest the name of a suitable officer. As Major Hill glanced over the list his eye, as if by providence, fell upon the name of Jackson. With this young officer Hill had had an acquaintance in Mexico, the circumstances of which are interesting.

When General Scott withdrew from General Taylor the greater portion of the regular troops for the invasion of Mexico by the Vera Cruz line, they were ordered to Camargo, where they were embarked for Point Isobel at the mouth of the Rio Grande, and held there until the arrival of transports to convey them to Vera Cruz.

A young second lieutenant of artillery who had served under General Taylor, and was waiting for his regiment on the beach at Point Isobel, strolled over to see Captain Taylor of the Artillery. While in conversation with Hill, Captain Taylor saw his visitor approaching, and said: "Here comes Lieutenant Jackson. I want you to know him. He was constantly rising in the class at West Point, and if the course had been a year longer he would have graduated at the head of his class. He will make his mark in this war."

Hill and Jackson were thereupon introduced, and soon strolled off together along the beach. While admiring the grandeur of the ocean, young Jackson said to Hill, "I envy you men who have been in battle. How I would like to be in *one* battle!" and then ex-

pressed the fear that the war might terminate before his longing would be gratified. "Little did he then know how many scores of battles he would direct, and how breathlessly the two divided sections of the nation would watch his terrible movements!"

The two young officers parted to meet under the walls of Vera Cruz. After a night of toil, they sought shelter under a sand bank to snatch a few hours' sleep, when an enormous shell from the Castle of San Juan de Ulloa came crashing through their shelter, and nearly ended their earthly careers. Side by side, they served in the pursuit of the Mexicans, after the fall of Chapultepec, and their mutual friendship, born of admiration and confidence, was heightened by a closer association after the fall of the City of Mexico.

So it was that in 1851, many years after their service together in Mexico, Captain Taylor's remark, "if the course had been one year longer, Jackson would have graduated at the head of his class," was recalled by Hill, and also the prophetic remark, "He will distinguish himself in this war."

Jackson had fully justified the expectations of Captain Taylor, and in order that his career up to 1851 may be compared with those of McClellan, Reno and Rosecrans, his record is here given.

Born in Harrison County, Virginia, of a large and influential family, the early boyhood of Jackson, if not oppressed by poverty, was a hard struggle by reason of the financial reverses of his father, who, as a lawyer, had lost a large sum of security money.

Schools of an ordinary grade were inaccessible to one of young Jackson's means; and such primary instruction as he received had to be obtained in spite of the severest demands for his labor on his father's farm notwithstanding the additional drawback of bad health and a feeble physical constitution.

"Thus, were the years of his boyhood and early youth passed. We may picture to ourselves that manly and conscientious and thoughful, though delicate, boy, now

running the furrow, now planting the grain, now harvesting the crop, or tending the cattle by day, and, in the intervals of labor, snatching up the grammar, or geography, or history, and thus laying the foundation for that education he was soon to receive. These trials and struggles of early boyhood, in thirsting after knowledge, present a sublime spectacle, while there can be no doubt that the discipline which Jackson thus underwent in his western home, while laying in the rudiments of a plain English education, constituted an important element in the development of those qualities which have added such lustre to his name.

"In the winter of 1841-42, he became aware that a vacancy existed from his district in the United States Military Academy at West Point. He was at once fired with the desire to secure the appointment. He was conscious of the great number of applicants, and of the difficulties in the way of success. He knew he was poorly prepared for the severe and advanced studies of the Academy; but, nothing daunted, he resolved to make the effort; and, trusting to that providence whose guidance he ever acknowledged and sought, he started for Washington. His journey was a difficult one; partly on horseback, partly on foot, and partly by the public conveyances, he reached the national capital and laid his petition in person before his immediate representative, the Hon. Samuel L. Hays. The manner of the youth, his earnestness, his resolution, his hopefulness, all spoke for him. These were his credentials; and the result was, he returned to his home with his warrant in his pocket,—*his first public reward for honest effort in the path of duty.*

"On the 1st of July, 1842, he was admitted a cadet in the United States Military Academy. His class was a large and distinguished one. Generals McClellan, Foster, Reno, Couch, and Gibbon, of the Federal Army; and Generals A. P. Hill, Pickett, Maury, D. R. Jones, W. D. Smith, and Wilcox, of the Confederate Army, were among his classmates. He was at once

brought into competition with young men of high cultivation; and, although it is doubtful whether he had seen a French book in his life, or a Mathematical book, except his Arithmetic, he was assigned to the fourth class, and entered upon the study of Algebra, Geometry, and French. At the end of his first year, in a class of seventy-two, he stood 45 in Mathematics, 70 in French, had 15 demerit and was 51 in *general merit.* Such a standing would have discouraged an ordinary youth. Not so with Jackson. He knew his early disadvantages. He was rather encouraged that he could sustain himself at all; and, stimulated by this hope and confidence, he pressed forward to the work of the next advanced class. Here, the studies were more abstruse and more complicated; but, when the examination came around, he had risen to 18 in Mathematics, 52 in French, was 68 in drawing and 55 in English studies, had 26 demerit, and was 30 in *general merit.*

"In the second class a new course of studies was presented to him. Having completed the pure Mathematics, French and English, he had now to enter upon the study of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy; and we see the upward and onward march of this youth in the result of the year, which placed him 11 in Natural Philosophy, 25 in Chemistry, 59 in drawing, with no demerit for the year, and in general merit he was 20. In July, 1846, his class graduated. In the studies of the final year he was 12 in Engineering, 5 in Ethics, 11 in Artillery, 21 in Infantry Tactics, 11 in Mineralogy and Geology, had 7 demerit for the year, and his graduating standing, including the drawbacks of his previous years, was 17.

. . . . . .

"It was scarcely possible for a young man to have entered upon a course of studies for which he was less prepared, from want of early preparation, than he was. Accustomed to the labor of the field, the change in his habits of life would have unsettled any ordinary man; but the resolute purpose to accomplish what he had undertaken, and thus to vindicate the confidence of his

friends, animated him through all his difficulties, and crowned him with the honors of a graduate, and with the commission as a brevet second lieutenant of artillery, on the 1st of July, 1846.

"Lieutenant Jackson immediately reported for duty with his regiment, the First Artillery, and was soon after assigned to Magruder's Light Battery, then serving in Mexico. On the 3d of March, 1847, he was promoted to second lieutenant, and on the 20th of August of the same year to the rank of first lieutenant. On that day the battles of Contreras and Churubusco were fought, and 'for gallant and meritorious conduct in these battles,' he was brevetted a captain. The battle of Chapultepec was fought on the 13th of September, and he was brevetted a major of artillery for 'gallant and meritorious conduct' in that battle. Thus, in the brief period of fourteen months, he had risen from a brevet second lieutenant of artillery, to the rank of a brevet major of artillery,—a success without parallel in the history of the Mexican War. His division commander thus noticed his conduct: 'The advanced section of the battery, under the command of the brave Lieutenant Jackson, was dreadfully cut up and almost disabled.' . . . Captain Magruder's field battery, one section of which was served with great gallantry by himself, and the other by his brave lieutenant, Jackson, in the face of a galling fire from the enemy's intrenched positions, did invaluable service preparatory to the general assault.

"Captain Magruder in his official report, made the following reference to him: 'I beg leave to call the attention of the Major-General commanding the division to the conduct of Lieutenant Jackson of the First Artillery. If devotion, industry, talent and gallantry are the highest qualities of a soldier, he is entitled to the distinction which their possession confers.' "*

*From the memorial tribute to Jackson written by General Francis H. Smith, and read to the Board of Visitors of the V. M. I. July 1, 1863. It is given here verbatim because it comprises a comtemporary estimate upon the facts of which, as then known, the appointment of Jackson was made.

D. H. Hill and Jackson were not brothers-in-law at this time, as is frequently erroneously asserted.

Such was the record of the officer whom Major D. H. Hill recommended in the strongest terms to the Superintendent, with the result that Colonel Smith at once wrote Major Jackson requesting permission to present his name to the Board. In reply, the following letter was received:

"FORT MEADE, FLA., February 25, 1851.

"DEAR SIR—I have just received your communication of the 4th inst., containing the kind proposition of bringing my name before the Board of Visitors of the Virginia Military Institute as a candidate for the professorship of Natural and Experimental Philosophy.

"Though strong ties bind me to the Army, yet I can not consent to decline so flattering an offer. Please present my name to the Board, and accept my thanks for your kindness.

"I am, sir,

"Very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"T. J. JACKSON."

There was an adjourned meeting of the Board in Richmond, and upon receipt of Major Jackson's favorable reply, Colonel Smith immediately repaired to that city, and sought out the Hon. John S. Carlisle, who was one of its members, and a connection of Jackson's. Carlisle heartily endorsed his candidacy, and set to work to enlist support therefor, arguing that inasmuch as little patronage had been derived by the Institute from the western section of the State, it would be politic to appoint an officer from that quarter.

When the Board convened on March 28, 1851, to consider the disturbing question of appointing the new professor, Hon. John Brannon, State Senator from Lewis County, arose and nominated Major Thomas Jonathan Jackson, stating in a strong plea for his appointment that this officer was from his section of the State, that he was well known in western Virginia, that the distinguished reputation he had gained in Mexico had made him the idol of the people, and that his election to the chair would greatly strengthen the Institute in that quarter.

Mr. Brannon's nomination was promptly seconded and Major Jackson was unanimously elected, a result insured by hard work and the most thorough canvass of the Board before the matter was finally considered. Thus, we see that not only Providence, but West Point and State politics, all combined to produce "Stonewall" Jackson.

Colonel Smith, highly pleased with his victory, communicated the result of the election to Major Jackson on the day it occurred, and nearly a month later received the following reply:

"FORT MEADE, FLA., April 22, 1851.

"COLONEL—Your letter of the 28th ult., informing me that I had been elected Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy and Artillery Tactics, in the Virginia Military Institute, has been received.

"The high honor conferred by the Board of Visitors in selecting me unanimously to fill such a professorship gratified me exceedingly.

"I hope to be able to meet the Board on the 28th of June, next, but fear that circumstances over which I have no control will prevent my doing so before that time. For your kindness in endeavoring to procure me a leave of absence for six months, as well as for the interest you have otherwise manifested in my behalf, I feel under strong and lasting obligations.

"Should I desire a furlough of more than one month, commencing on the 1st of July next, it will be for the purpose of visiting Europe.

"I regret that recent illness has prevented my giving you an earlier answer. Any communication which you may have to make, previous to the 1st of June, please direct to this place.

"I am, Colonel,

"Very respectfully,
"Your obedient servant,
"T. J. JACKSON.

"To Col. Francis Smith,
"Sup't Virginia Military Institute,
"Lexington, Rockbridge County, Virginia."

At this time, Major Jackson's health was very poor, and his eyes, especially, were so weak he had to exercise great prudence in using them, never doing so at night. Thus crippled for his new work, he was asked by a friend if he did not hesitate to accept a position when he

was physically incapacitated to fill it. "Not in the least," was his prompt answer. "The appointment came unsought, and was therefore providential; and I knew that if Providence set me a task, He would give me the power to perform it. So, I resolved to get well, and you see I have. As to the rest, I knew that what *I willed to do, I could do.*"

Major Jackson tendered his resignation at once, to take effect February 29, 1852, and secured a leave of absence from June until that date. In the meantime, he was transferred to Fort Hamilton, and in order to recuperate his strength, he spent the month of July on Lake Ontario, and, reporting at Lexington early in August, was assigned to duty as Acting Commandant, with Captains R. E. Rodes and J. W. Massie as his assistants. In a few days Major Jackson marched the Corps to Warm Springs, Virginia, where it remained in camp for three weeks, returning to Lexington in time for the opening of the session, September 1st, at which time Major Gilham returned from leave.

During the encampment Major Jackson did not prove a success as a Commandant, and gave no evidence of ability to command young men. His appointment led to the early resignation of Captain Rodes, who took up railroad engineering, which profession he followed with success until the outbreak of the war, just before which he was elected a professor at the Institute.*

*Upon reporting for duty at the Institute, Major Jackson found an old friend who had been most insistent in his humble way, urging the former's appointment. General Smith, who was from Norfolk, and frequently visited Fortress Monroe, had some years before appointed Sergeant Dempsey, of the Artillery, Ordnance Sergeant at the Institute. This worthy man, who faithfully served the Institute many years, had been a member of Jackson's battery in Mexico. Upon learning that an artillery officer was being sought for by the Superintendent, he had persistently spoken of Major Jackson, his old battery commander, referring again and again to Major Jackson as the finest officer in the Artillery.

When Jackson was buried in Lexington, Mrs. Jackson presented the faithful Sergeant Dempsey with the military boots in which her husband was killed, and they are now owned by a gentleman in Lexington to whose mother they were willed by their proud owner.

CHAPTER V

IN TIME OF PEACE PREPARE FOR WAR—GILHAM AND JACKSON

THE faculty of the Institute now consisted of Colonel Smith, Majors Preston, Williamson, Gilham, and Jackson, and several young Assistant Professors with tactical duties. Captain Rodes resigned soon after Jackson's appointment.

It is frequently assumed by those ignorant of the facts, that Jackson was the military genius of the Institute during his association with the School. Nothing could be more erroneous than such a belief. His sole connection with the military affairs of the School was as Instructor of Ordnance and Artillery Tactics and Commander of the Cadet battery which President Taylor had presented the Corps the year before Jackson's appointment.

As a member of the faculty Jackson did undoubtedly exert his own peculiar influence upon the Corps of Cadets and the community in which he dwelt; but his was not a commanding influence, nor did he in any way shape the course of events at the Institute, or its character as a School of Arms. I believe it is not too much to say that Jackson was influenced more by the Institute than it was by him. Even had he possessed the personality to be a leader of thought, he did not occupy a sufficiently prominent position as a mere professor, without executive duties of any kind, to exercise a positive control.

In the writer's opinion, the impression of Jackson which a late popular novelist has sought to create is not a correct one. That impression harmonizes too well with the Boer-like figure portrayed in the frontispiece of the "Long Roll." Jackson was undoubtedly eccentric

as we shall see, but he was not a bore; he was peculiar but not rough. He was not handsome, but in his appearance there was nothing partaking of the repulsive; he was rather unhandsome than ugly; unpolished than coarse in grain.

The writer did not, of course, know Jackson, but he has been at particular pains to gain a correct impression of the man as he appeared while a professor at the Virginia Military Institute. Jackson may have appeared otherwise to those who knew him elsewhere; but to his personal acquaintances, his brother-officers, his business associates, his official superiors, his military subordinates, his social equals, his servants, his superiors and his inferiors, in Lexington, he presented the features so carefully and vividly portrayed by his military biographer, John Esten Cooke. That likeness has been verified in detail by the author. It bears the flesh tints from the brush of an artist who painted from life, and, as it can not be improved upon in the writer's opinion, it is herein incorporated:

"Well-meaning persons have drawn a wholly incorrect likeness of Jackson at this period of his life. Misled by admiration, and yielding to the temptation to eulogy, they have bestowed upon Professor Jackson every moral and physical grace, and even his eccentricities have been toned down into winning ways, original and characteristic, which only made their possessor more charming than before. We are sorry to say this is all fancy. Jackson was the farthest possible removed from anything graceful; and as the first merit of any biography is accuracy, we shall endeavor to lay before the reader a truthful sketch of the real form seen moving to and fro, on the streets of Lexington, between the years 1851 and 1861.

"It was the figure of a tall, gaunt, awkward individual, wearing a gray uniform, and apparently moving by separate and distinct acts of volition. This stiff and unbending figure passed over the ground with a sort of stride, as though measuring the distance from one

given point to another; and those who followed its curious movements saw it pause at times, apparently from having reached the point desired. The eyes of the individual at such moments were fixed intently upon the ground; his lips moved in soliloquy; the absent and preoccupied gaze and general expression of the features plainly showed a profound unconsciousness of 'place and time.' It was perfectly obvious that the mind of the military-looking personage in the gray coat was busy upon some problem entirely disconnected from his actual surroundings. The fact of his presence at Lexington, in the commonwealth of Virginia, had evidently disappeared from his consciousness; the figures moving around him were mere plantasmagoria; he had travelled in search of some principle of philosophy, or some truth in theology, quite out of the real, work-a-day world, and deep in the land of dreams. If you spoke to him at such times, he awoke as if it were from sleep, and looked into your face with an air of simplicity and inquiry, which sufficiently proved the sudden transition which he had made from the world of thoughts to that of reality.

"In lecturing to his class, his manner was grave, earnest, full of military brevity, and destitute of all the graces of the speaker. Business-like, systematic, somewhat stern, with an air of rigid rule, as though the matter at issue were of the utmost importance, and *he* was entrusted with the responsibility of seeing that due attention was paid to it—he did not make a very favorable impression upon the volatile youths, who sat at the feet of this military Gamaliel. They listened decorously to the grave Professor, but, once dismissed from his presence, took revenge by a thousand jests upon his peculiarities of mind and demeanor. His oddities were the subject of incessant jokes; his eccentric ways were dwelt upon with all the eloquence and sarcastic gusto which characterize the gay conversation of young men discussing an unpopular teacher. No idiosyncrasy of the Professor was lost sight of. His stiff, angular figure; the awkward movement of his

body; his absent and 'grum' demeanor; his exaggerated and apparently absurd devotion to military regularity; his wearisome exactions of a similar observance on their part;—that general oddity, eccentricity, and singularity in moving, talking, thinking, and acting peculiar to himself—all these were described on a thousand occasions, and furnished unfailing food for laughter. They called him 'Old Tom Jackson'; and pointing significantly to their foreheads, said he was 'not quite right there.' Some inclined to the belief that he was only a great eccentric; but others declared him 'crazy.' Those who had experienced the full weight of his professorial baton —who had been reprimanded before the class, or 'reported' to the Superintendent for punishment or dismissal—called him 'Fool Tom Jackson.'

"These details are not very heroic, and detract considerably from that dignified outline which eulogistic writers upon Jackson have drawn. But they are true. Nothing is better established than the fact that the man to whom General Lee wrote, 'Could I have directed events, I should have chosen for the good of the country to have been disabled in your stead,' and of whom the London *Times* said, 'That mixture of daring and judgment, which is the mark of "Heaven born" Generals, distinguished him beyond any man of his time'—nothing is more certain, we say, than that this man was sneered at as a fool, and on many occasions stigmatized as insane.

"It is doubtless true, however, that some of the youths, of more generous disposition or penetrating judgment, did not share in this general opinion.* They saw in the young professor originality rather than eccentricity of mind. They could acknowledge the peculiarities of his views and opinions, and the singularity of some of his habits, without sharing the popular impression that some wheel or crank of his mental machinery was out of order. Upon one point, however,

*Among whom may be mentioned Col. R. Preston Chew, '61, who, in his address at the Institute on the occasion of the unveiling of Ezekiel's Jackson Statue denied much that has been written about Jackson's appearance and eccentricities.

there seems to have been a general concurrence: the young teacher's possession of an indomitable fearlessness and integrity in the discharge of every duty. His worst enemies never ventured to say that he did not walk the straight path of right, and administer his official duties without fear, favor, or affection. They were forced to recognize the fact that this stiff military machine measured out justice to all alike, irrespective of persons, and could not be turned aside from the direct course by any influences around him. The cadets laughed at him, but they were afraid of him. They agreed, by common consent, that it was time thrown away to write excuses for a 'report' made by Major Jackson. The faculty had come, from long experience, to understand that when Major Jackson reported a cadet he deserved punishment, and the consequence was that, although the young men derided his peculiarities, and laughed in private at his odd ways, they felt that he was their master, and yielded full obedience to his orders.

"Such was the ex-artillerist turned professor. From his functions of professor in the schoolroom, he would pass to those of instructor of artillery on the parade ground. Here he was more in his element. He was called upon to teach the mysteries of that arm of the service which he loved above all others; and the proficiency of the cadets in drill and all the evolutions of the battery was soon a subject of remark. Jackson took great interest in those drills, especially when blank cartridges were used. 'An Ex-Cadet,' in his interesting account of this portion of Jackson's life, says: 'As soon as the sound of the guns would fall upon his ears, a change would seem to come over Major Jackson. He would grow more erect; the grasp upon his sabre would tighten; the quiet eyes would flash; the large nostrils would dilate, and the calm, grave face would glow with the proud spirit of the warrior. I have been frequently struck with this, and have often called the attention of others to it.'

"We have thus presented the figure of Jackson under two or three aspects—as the absent-looking thinker moving, lost in meditation, through the streets of Lexington; the grave professor in the lecturer's desk, and the officer of artillery, with sabre at his side, directing the drill and drawling out his commands in the long, singsong fashion, peculiar to the graduates of West Point. His appearance on Sunday will conclude our outline. He attended church with unfailing regularity. Punctual to the moment, the form of the Professor was seen to enter church, decorously approach the familiar pew, and enter with grave respect in his whole demeanor. Book in hand, he followed the words of the hymn sung by the congregation, and at the signal for prayer rose erect, his tall figure remaining motionless as a statue until the prayer was finished. After the service he retraced his steps with decorous gravity and retired to his quarters, to return again with the same punctuality, and conduct himself with the same solemn respect, at the evening services. The hours of Sunday not spent in church were given up to religious reading, meditation, and prayer in his study or in the bosom of his family.

"Thus passed, in routine of duty, barren and dull to the beholder, but doubtless interesting to him, a period of nearly ten years. Jackson's health was still delicate, and he suffered much from weakness of eyesight; but these drawbacks did not interfere with the rigid and complete discharge of his duties. The feebleness of his sight induced him to turn his attention especially to that subject, and when the revolution commenced, he had made considerable progress in an elementary work on Optics, which he proposed to publish for the benefit of his class. His character seems to have been understood and appreciated by the best classes of the little society of Lexington, and his virtues were greatly respected. Men of grave character and experience discerned the merits of the solid man; and if they did not suspect the presence of that military genius which he

afterwards exhibited on another arena, they valued him for his conscientious devotion to duty, and loved him for his simplicity and piety. One who was connected with him officially at this time, Colonel Smith, the Superintendent, writes: 'His great principle of government was that the general rule should not be violated for any particular good; and his animating rule of action was, that a man could always accomplish what he willed to perform.' This statement may be paraphrased in the words system, regularity, justice, impartiality, and unconscionable perseverance and determination. These were valuable lessons to teach youths. They laughed at him, but they imbibed the principles of action which he taught. They derided the rigid discipline which the young monitor enacted; denounced him for administering things on a 'war footing,' and no doubt honestly regarded him as a most unreasonable advocate of useless military etiquette; but they were slowly and certainly trained, like growing twigs, in the direction which the teacher wished. Jackson proceeded upon the eminently just view that the Institute was a military school, whose chief value consisted in the habits of military system and obedience which is impressed on the ductile characters of the cadets, and regarded any relaxation of the rules of the establishment as directly tending to strike at the intention of its founders and destroy its usefulness. Many anecdotes touching this point are related of him. He once continued to wear a thick woolen uniform during the sultriest days of summer, when everybody else had adopted the lightest attire possible; and when asked by one of the professors why he did so, replied 'that he had seen an order prescribing the uniform which he wore, but none had been exhibited to him directing it to be changed.'

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"As yet, however, the cadets laughed, and doubted the good sense of all this rigid discipline. They not only made fun of the grave Professor behind his back, but persecuted and 'sorely tried' him, says an 'Ex-

Cadet', by practical jokes. One of these was amusing, and will give the reader some idea of the youths with whom he had to deal. The battery used in drilling was managed by drag-ropes, which the plebe class manned. Sometimes a linchpin would be secretly abstracted, and the piece or caisson would break down in the midst of the drill. A more mirth-provoking device even than this, however, was hit upon. A small bell was adroitly suspended inside of the limber-box, and the conspirators demurely took their places at the drag-ropes. The commander of the battery gave the order, 'Forward', and the pieces began to move. Suddenly a mysterious tinkling was heard, and the cadets, unable to withstand this tax upon their risible faculties, burst into shouts of laughter. The Professor looked astonished, halted the battery, and with great earnestness instituted an inquiry into the phenomenon. It was in vain; nothing was discovered, and the order was again given for the pieces to move forward. They moved, and the hidden bell again tinkled, amid renewed shouts of laughter. How this adventure terminated we are not informed, but there is no doubt the trick was played and was not greatly enjoyed by Professor Jackson. Other devices of the frolicsome cadets to annoy him seem to have affected him with a touch of humor. We have referred to the long drawling manner in which, following the fashion of West Point, he gave his commands. A favorite movement with him was to bring the battery into échelon; and whenever the command to 'Form échelon' was given with its accompaniment, 'Right oblique—trot—march!' the whole ground would ring with the commands, repeated by the cadet officers, in the most ridiculous drawl imaginable. One evening when this had been carried to unwonted excess, the adjutant approached Jackson and asked him how he was pleased with the drill.

"'Very much, sir,' replied Jackson; then smiling slightly he added, 'the officers gave very fine commands this afternoon.'

"No opportunity of having a laugh at the Professor's expense was lost sight of, and on another occasion the cadets had some grounds for their amusements. One day Jackson informed his class that the clock in front of the Institute was not correct, and declared his intention to ascertain, by scientific means, the exact time. He accordingly marched out to the parade ground, with the class at his heels, and proceeded, by means of his instruments, to take an observation. The result was amusing and delighted the cadet-heart. He finished his work about half-past twelve in the day, and to his profound astonishment discovered that it was *nearly seven in the evening!* The cadets set up a shout, and after looking around him with an incredulous surprise for some moments, Jackson joined in the general laughter. It was soon discovered that the instruments were out of order, but the cadets did not suffer this fact to lessen their appreciation of the joke.

"One of the few exhibitions of the tendency to humor which we find in Jackson's whole career occurred at this period. The reader will not be troubled with many similar incidents, and we give the anecdote here. One morning in 1858 he called upon a member of the graduating class, and with profound gravity propounded the following scientific question:

" 'Why is it impossible to send a telegraphic dispatch from Lexington to Staunton?'

"The cadet reflected for some moments, and then replied that the explanation of this phenomenon doubtless lay in the fact that the amount of iron ore in the mountains drew the magnetic current from the wires.

"A covert smile touched upon Jackson's features; fled away, and he said:

" 'No, sir; you can take your seat.'

"Another was called up, but he too failed to explain the mystery. A second, then a third were equally unsuccessful—Jackson listening to their theories with profound attention, but with the same sly smile that had greeted the first solution. This smile probably at-

tracted the attention of the next cadet who was called, and threw a sudden light upon the subject. His countenance lit up; his lips broke into a smile in return, and he said:

" 'Well, Major Jackson, I reckon it must be, because there is no telegraph between the two places.'

" 'You are right, sir,' replied Jackson, who had suddenly renewed his composed expression. 'You can take your seat.'

"An outburst of laughter from the class greeted this passage of arms in which the Professor was overthrown, but the unwonted display of humor had apparently exhausted Jackson's appreciation of the quality for the time. He called the class to order, and calmly continued the subject of the recitation as if nothing had happened.

"We give this incident upon good authority. It is the first and last attempt at a practical joke which we find in Jackson's life.

"Another incident of his dealings with the cadets is an illustration of the quiet courage of the man, and disregard of personal consequences where duty was concerned. He had brought charges against a cadet, who was tried and dismissed from the Institute. Burning with resentment, the young man declared his intention to take Jackson's life, and arming himself took his position on the road from Lexington to the Institute, over which he knew the Professor would pass to meet his class. A friend had overheard the youth express his bloody intention, and hastening to warn Jackson, met him on the road, and informed him of his danger, strongly urging him to turn back. To turn back, however, was to neglect his recitations on that day, and to hold his recitations was a part of his duty. He peremptorily refused to retrace his steps, and with the cold and stern reply, 'Let the assassin murder me if he will!' continued his way. As he approached the spot indicated, he saw the young man standing and awaiting him. He turned and gazed fixedly at him with that

look which had fronted, unmoved, the most terrible scenes of carnage upon many battlefields. The youth could not sustain it; he lowered his eyes, and, turning away in silence, left the spot, while Jackson calmly pursued his way.

"We have here placed upon record, with such illustrations as we could collect, the traits of character which distinguished Jackson at this period of his life. One other which is mentioned by a recent biographer should be noticed—the strength of his memory. 'In the section-room,' says 'an Ex-Cadet', 'he would sit perfectly erect and motionless, listening with grave attention, and exhibiting the great powers of his wonderful memory, which was, I think, the most remarkable that ever came under my observation. The course that he taught was the most difficult and complicated known to mathematics, running through at least half a dozen text-books. In listening to a recitation he rarely used a book. He was ready at any moment to refer to any page or line in any of the books, and then to repeat with perfect accuracy the most difficult passages that could be referred to.'

"Such was Jackson at Lexington; a stiff, earnest, military figure—artillery officer turned professor; stern in his bearing, eccentric in his habits, peculiar in many of his views, leading a life of alternate activity in the section-room, and abstraction in the study, independent, devoted to duty, deeply religious in sentiment, and notable in person, deportment, and character for an undoubted originality. The eccentric figure was as well known in Lexington as the 'Iron Duke', raising the finger to his hat, and uttering his curt greeting in the streets of London. As years wore on, his character was better understood—his merit more fully recognized. We may doubt Colonel Smith's assertion that at the breaking out of the war, 'the spontaneous sentiment of every cadet and graduate was to serve under him as their leader,' but there is good reason to believe that he had strongly impressed great numbers of persons with a

conviction of his soldierly qualities—his good judgment, impartiality, perseverance, courage, and knowledge of the profession of arms."*

To the foregoing description of Jackson's career as a professor at the Institute much might be added in the nature of confirmatory evidence. But I shall only attempt to fill in the gaps, avoiding repetition as much as possible.

As a professor, Major Jackson was not a success. It is not in that iconoclastic spirit which too commonly leads the flippant critic to break down popular beliefs concerning the perfections of great men, but in the interest of historical truth, that this assertion is here made. According to the testimony of his superior officer at the Institute, who was responsible for his appointment, and knew of his abilities as a professor in a way that no other did, Jackson displayed no qualifications for the chair he was selected to fill. By nature, he was no teacher; and he lacked the tact required for the successful handling of young men. Every officer and every cadet respected him for his many sterling qualities. They knew him to be brave, conscientious, and to be a good Christian man; and the glamor of his military exploits in Mexico appealed with especial force to the youth with whom he was associated; but his warmest personal admirers perceived at once he was not gifted in the work he had chosen to pursue.

Even as a military commander at the Institute, Major Jackson failed to inspire that confidence in the cadets which one, who later developed such high genius for command, might now be supposed to have done. It is a well known fact that the peculiarities of genius are usually construed as eccentricities, by associates, rather than as indicative evidence of extraordinary ability on the part of the one possessing them. It is only in the retrospect that one attributes idiosyncrasies

*Stonewall Jackson, a Military Biography, John Esten Cooke, pp. 23-32. See also Memorial Va. Mil. Inst., Walker; Henderson's Stonewall Jackson and the American Civil War; Life of Stonewall Jackson, Daniels; Wearing of the Gray, Cooke; Life and Campaigns of Stonewall Jackson, Dabney; and Religious Character of Stonewall Jackson, Smith.

to the temperament of genius; and youth especially is wont to lose no time forecasting future greatness from present eccentricity. Young men, and the large majority of maturer minds as well, are concerned with the material aspect of things in their relation to the present. Thus it is, that the smaller intellect capable of a complete mastery of a task of commensurate magnitude, is ordinarily rated higher in the general estimate than a less circumscribed intellect which gives imperfect evidences of its grasp of tangible things. Especially is this true of cadets, who in their uncritical judgment would at once underestimate a Hannibal, should he undertake to discharge the duties of a drill-master, without a thorough knowledge of the details involved. The immature mind, whether of youth or men, does not deal in generalities, but exacts preciseness in the most trivial matters. Nor can it accept the unconventional oddities of style and manner, beneath which a broader mind detects the more essential qualities; they only obscure those qualities from the view of the undiscerning; and thus the superficial attributes are construed as the true nature of the subject under consideration.

"Major Jackson's presence was not striking, his manners were not attractive, and his habits were so eccentric that he had not ranked high as a professor; even at the time of his most astonishing victories, and when any cadet there would have given all he possessed to be with him, the stories of 'Old Jack's' eccentricities made daily sport for the cadets." Such were the accurate recollections of one who upon mature reflection sought to record his youthful estimate of the great man, under whom he had served as a cadet.* And this testimony is almost universally corroborated.

One who knows human nature, and more particularly the nature of young men,—one who has not yet lost touch with the spirit of youth, may readily detect from the following account the feelings of the Corps of Cadets with respect to Major Jackson:

*End of an Era, John S. Wise, p. 268.

"It was a famous joke how, when he had been drilling the Third Class in light artillery, with the 'plebes' as horses, the cadets had drawn the linchpins from the cannon wheels; and as the guns made the turn near the parapet along the edge of the parade ground, the wheels had come off and sent the pieces tumbling over the slope. When this would happen, as it often did, Major Jackson would gallop up, look ruefully down the slope, and remark, without the slightest suspicion: 'There must be something defective in the construction of these linchpins; they seem inclined to fly out whenever the pieces in rapid motion change direction.' "

Now, here, let it be interpolated, no such incident as this could have occurred but once (at most), under Major Gilham who, the first time it did occur, would in his more practical knowledge of young men, probably have required the old cadets to draw the pieces up the slope, instead of halting them in the shade while the innocent human gun-teams labored at the task! Such an expedient would have at once remedied all defects in the linchpins. But Major Jackson's mind was not constituted that way.

Soon after his appointment, lack of harmony developed between Major Jackson and the Superintendent. It was said Major Jackson would have little to do with his superior officer, except in an official way. "Professors were required under the regulations to make their weekly reports to the Superintendent at four o'clock Friday afternoon. It was told of 'Old Jack' that Friday afternoon, within a few minutes of four o'clock, he would appear in front of the Superintendent's office, and walk up and down, until the clock struck four. It made no difference whether it was raining, hailing, snowing, or freezing, he would not enter until the clock struck; then, with military precision, he would advance to the office of the Superintendent, salute, lay his report upon the table, face about, and walk out. It was also related that during the recitations he was frequently occupied in rubbing one side of himself,

under the impression (confided to a select few) that one side of his body was not so well nourished as the other, and was gradually wasting away."

The writer of this interesting account does not himself vouch for the truth of the reports he recounts, and they may have all been greatly exaggerated, and very likely were; but the fact remains, that the general impression was according to the current rumor or gossip, and we readily understand why the cadets dubbed a man but twenty-seven years of age, "Old Jack", "Old Tom Jackson", and "Fool Tom Jackson".

With Gilham as Commandant, and Jackson as Instructor of Ordnance and Artillery Tactics, the military instruction of the School progressed with the utmost success; but Gilham was the disciplinarian and the champion of the military ideals of the Institute. He was regarded by many as a veritable martinet, was disliked by those who shirked their duty and felt the iron of his hand, admired intensely by his associate officers and the great majority of the Corps, and respected by all. When the Superintendent,—a kindly, gentle man, thoroughly imbued with the principles of discipline, but, occasionally, through what he deemed to be policy, inclined to overlook in a spirit of paternalism, breaches of discipline,— it was Major Gilham, the Commandant, who opposed these tendencies to depart from the strict requirements of duty. At times, of course, the Commandant was too exacting; for, thrown into contact with cadets only in his military capacity, he dealt with them as men with men's responsibilities, and treated them accordingly. He rightly perceived that it was not the academic excellence of the Institute upon which its success depended; for he knew that many other institutions of learning afforded a higher and more elaborate course of instruction. He understood that it was the military, or characteristic, feature of the Institute that must be preserved, and maintained at the highest standard of efficiency; and that just in so far as the fundamental conception of the School was ignored and departed

from, to that extent was its power of usefulness sacrificed. In such a belief it was that he demanded of cadets the most conscientious and thorough attention to military duty; and when one of them proved remiss and failed to respond to reasonable measures of correction, he took the stand that the Institute was not a reformatory, and that however hard the penalty of dismissal might be upon the incorrigible cadet, and his parents, the general interest should not be sacrificed in a spirit of mistaken leniency to the individual.

It is needless here to add that Gilham's views were the only practicable ones for a Commandant of Cadets. Entertaining any other views, one, responsible for the discipline of a large body of young men, is destined to meet with inevitable failure. There is no mid course between discipline and indiscipline; nor can discipline be compromised with in the interest of an individual where the control of many is involved. Soldiers, and especially cadets, are invariably happier and more content under a system of rigid exaction of duty, which is specific in its demands and prompt and impartial in the administration of justice. They do not weigh the penalty, or rebel, however severe the penalty may be, if only it be assigned with firmness and impartiality. No punishment can be inflicted, however, without serious consequences, unless at least these two requisites are present.

From the foregoing, it must not be inferred that the Superintendent overlooked the requirements of discipline. He merely found it difficult on occasions to exact the full recompense from the youthful offender. This was natural. Men either grow more lenient or more tyrannical with increasing years. General Smith was never a tyrant. At times he did fail to perceive that in a military body where failure to do appointed tasks tends to lower the general standard of efficiency penalties lose much of their character as individual punishments, and become stimulants as well as restraints.

At this point, it may be well to advert at some length to the view of discipline, which has in the main prevailed at the Institute and upon which so much of its success as a school of arms has been based.

From the first, it was perceived that discipline consists of more than a code of regulations, devised and promulgated to order the conduct of those subject thereto, but that it consists of such a code coupled with a consistent, firm, prompt, and unvarying system of enforcement. At the Institute the system of enforcement was based not upon physical compulsion, but upon mental compulsion through fear of the exaction of a prescribed penalty for any violation of the code of regulations.

Discipline becomes effective just to the extent that adherence to the regulations is compelled, and when the penalty system of compulsion is in effect, adherence to the rules of discipline will be found according to the degree of rigidity with which the penalty prescribed for a violation is exacted. Discipline, however, is not to be gauged by the penalties exacted, for penalties when excessive are conclusive of undue disregard of regulations. In other words, good conduct can not be argued from the recompense demanded for bad conduct.

But there are other means available for the disciplinarian than the penalty system of enforcement which may be employed in conjunction with such a system. Careful instruction, appeal to pride, reward for the faithful and efficient discharge of duty—all these must serve to induce adherence to the established rules. Behind them, however, must stand the ever-present knowledge that a violation of those rules will be attended with a penalty of such character as to make the violation unprofitable.

Military discipline rigidly enforced may as a system be likened to the law of contract. A contract is voluntarily entered into. While it can not be broken to the advantage of the one who disregards his obligations thereunder without incurring damages, yet the bonds

can not be oppressive. The unmilitary mind too often fails to perceive this analogy. It comprehends that the granting of damages to the party whose contract rights are violated is but a protection to society, and that it is not in the nature of a mere punishment to the offender. But it can not grasp the fact that a military penalty is not a punishment but a means of protecting the military society and enforcing that general cooperation upon which the safety of the military unit, large or small, depends. To weaken the guarantee of protection in either case by failing to exact the damages in the first, and the penalty in the last, for any individual violation is itself an act which disregards the right of the many for the benefit of one.

The foregoing idea of discipline was fundamental in the military system of the Institute, where the individual interest was never allowed under the régime of Gilham, and later on under Shipp, to rise superior to that of the Corps of Cadets as a military unit. Neither of these eminently forceful and preëminently successful Commandants regarded a penalty as a punishment, or in the crude light of the exaction of recompense—"an eye for an eye." They did not relish the duty of inflicting penalties, and by constant effect and patient instruction sought to prevent the necessity from arising; yet when it did arise, they never allowed the kindness of their hearts to mislead them into encouraging the repetition of offenses by adopting an attitude of mistaken leniency. They knew that kindness of heart like charity is dangerous in some cases, and in them does more harm than good. Their views prevailed and the result was that under them the correct ideas of discipline were inculcated in the Corps of Cadets.

Under the wise administration of affairs by the Superintendent, and the firm command of the Corps of Cadets by Gilham, the Institute flourished, surpassing the most sanguine expectations. Before 1860, the new barracks, and many other buildings, had been erected, at a total expense to the State of $151,000; the more

essential improvements were effected between 1850 and 1855.

The Superintendent had laid great stress before the Legislature on the fact that in building up the Institute the State was not only fostering its educational and industrial development, but at the same time was providing for its defense in the event of war; and, as the imminence of sectional strife became more apparent, this argument proved more and more availing.

July 4, 1856, Governor Henry A. Wise, always an ardent supporter of the Institute, dedicated the Washington Monument and the new barracks, and in a memorable address, emphasized in bold terms the service which Virginia's School of Arms was destined to render the State. Expressing his pride, as Chief Executive of Virginia, in the Institution, he pledged his support to it in every reasonable way. His subsequent record shows that he fully discharged that promise.

The favorable opinion of the people at this time, but expressed by the Governor, insured the successful progress of the Institute. They now attached to it a value which they had failed to perceive until the chariots of Mars began to rumble. Hitherto, they had in large measure regarded the Institute as a dedication to the violent, lustful son of Jove. Now, they understood its true character, and saw that the conception of Crozet and Smith, and those others who had been active in the furtherance of their designs, had not merely raised a monument to Mars, but one to the peace-loving, though war-like, Minerva. And with this broad grasp of the situation, however tardy, the Legislature was just preparing to make possible the wide extension of the field of usefulness of the Institute, when war intervened.

The Washington Monument in Richmond was not completed for many years after the laying of the corner-stone; but, at last, February 22, 1858, the one hundred and twenty-sixth anniversary of the birth of the Immortal Patriot, was appointed as the day for the unveiling of the statue.

Governor Wise ordered the Corps of Cadets, now about 150 strong, to attend the ceremonies as his escort of honor; and in due time the Battalion of four companies and a section of the battery, in command of Majors Gilham and Jackson, respectively, were embarked aboard canal boats for Richmond, where the cadets were quartered in the Lyceum.

The people had not yet forgotten the appearance of the Corps in the Capital eight years before, and welcomed the cadets with open arms.

"The appearance of the Corps on this occasion, the first on which I ever saw it," wrote a distinguished author, "was sufficient to excite the wildest enthusiasm of a small boy, such as I was at the time. Never before had I seen such trim, alert figures; such clean, saucy-looking uniforms; such machine-like precision and quickness of drill; such silence and obedience. From the first day my eye rested on the Cadet Corps, my ambition was to be a cadet.

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"The only thing about this fine body that struck me as in any way lacking in soldierly appearance was the Commandant of the battery. He was not my ideal of a soldier, either in military bearing, or in the manner in which he gave his commands. His uniform was not new; his old blue forage cap sat on the back of his head; and he stood like a horse 'sprung' in the knees. His commands were given in a piping, whining tone, and he appeared to be deeply intent on his business, without paying much regard to the onlookers. On the other hand, the officer commanding the battalion of infantry was the model of a martinet. He was petite, quick as a lizard, straight as a ramrod, and his commands were given like the crack of a whiplash. I thought him a perfect commanding officer.

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COLONEL JOHN THOMAS LEWIS PRESTON
PROFESSOR 1839-1876, 1878-1882

was familiarly called 'Old Jack'; and that his real name was Major Jackson; and that the cadets while disposed to make light of him for his eccentricities, dare not trifle with him. As to the other officer, Major Gilham, all agreed that he was the best drill-officer and tactician they had, and that he was superior to Major Jackson."*

"At the grand reception given that night by my Father, the Governor, I again saw both these officers, and their bearing confirmed me in my judgment that there was no question which was the superior soldier. Major Jackson was plainly dressed, wore coarse shoes, had a weary look in his blue eyes, took very little part in conversation, seemed bored by the entertainment, neither ate nor drank, and after paying his respects to the Governor, and to General Winfield Scott, Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of the United States, quietly disappeared. Major Gilham, on the other hand, was urbane, ubiquitous, and remained until the close of the entertainment.

"In after years, I had occasion to revise my opinion of these two men, for Major Jackson was none other than the immortal Stonewall."

The visit of the Corps to Richmond in 1858, as in 1850, was productive of much good. It not only advertised the military worth of the Institute among the people of Virginia, but also among a host of visitors from all sections of the country; and this aroused in the cadets themselves a consciousness of their superiority, which constitutes one of the strongest factors of *esprit de corps* in a military body. The reception they received, and the honors again thrust upon them, made them realize that much was expected of the Virginia Military Institute as the *Corps Elite* of *the South,* and the opportunity it afforded them to see and meet the dignitaries of the country, including such eminent soldiers as General Winfield Scott, and his distinguished

*The writer's memory played him a trick in connection with this interesting account. Major Jackson was not Commandant, nor was he in Richmond in 1858. It was the following year that he accompanied the Corps to Richmond from Harper's Ferry, and was seen by the writer; but the picture is a good one.

COLONEL JOHN THOMAS LEWIS PRESTON
PROFESSOR 1839-1876, 1878-1882

Should they be provided they could actually be kept for the amount saved. By increasing the annual charge against each cadet $15.00 until the State made adequate provision, mounted instruction could be given the Second Class, and every graduate would go forth thoroughly trained in the three branches, instead of in infantry tactics, and the theory of gunnery alone. But Gilham's wise plan has never yet been adopted in spite of the constant efforts of successive Commandants.

CHAPTER VI

CHAIR OF STRATEGY CREATED—THE EXECUTION OF JOHN BROWN

DURING the period immediately subsequent to 1855, the friction between the two sections over slavery questions increased at an alarming rate. "The declamation against disunion, and the mutual pledges of fraternal love between North and South, which attended the banquet to the Seventh New York Regiment in Richmond, arose in great part from a knowledge of sectional feeling, threats of disunion, and of partisan recriminations between politicians, but too familiar to all who spoke." Mere pledges of fraternity between their soldiery could not blind the eyes of the people of either New York or Virginia to the crisis that was impending.

Never for an instant had the necessity for preparedness been overlooked at the Institute, and with increasing numbers and demands for entrance, came enlargements of the Faculty and the facilities for instruction.

The unprecedented success of the Virginia Military Institute by no means turned the heads of those at the helm whose motto had been "Progress". Availing themselves of the best this country had to offer, it was now proposed by them to send Colonel Smith to Europe to study the methods of the best military and scientific institutions of the old world. Accordingly, fully accredited by the Board of Visitors and the Governor of Virginia, he sailed from New York June 9, 1858, with three graduates of the Institute, returning the last of December, following. During his investigations which extended over a period of nearly five months, he visited every one of the principal military schools of England, France, and Germany, and procured a mass of information, more valuable in the academic development of

the School, than with respect to its military organization. It was by reason of the knowledge the Superintendent gained abroad, however, that a notable innovation in military instruction in this country was inaugurated.

In 1854, Captain Raleigh E. Colston, V. M. I., 1846, Assistant Professor, had been appointed Professor of a new chair of French, History, and Political Economy, with rank of major. A Chair of Military Strategy was now created, and Major Colston was assigned to fill it. This was, as far as the writer can determine, the first chair of the kind created in any institution of learning in America, and no such advanced instruction in the military science existed elsewhere, even at the United States Military Academy.

In this new work, Major Colston displayed the most marked ability, giving many evidences of that knowledge of the theory of war, which enabled him to attain high distinction as a brigadier-general of the Confederacy, and later to become the military adviser of the Khedive of Egypt whose army he reorganized after the War between the States.

Among the military men who served on the Board of Visitors during this period, besides those already mentioned, were General Francis M. Boykin, Colonel William B. Taliaferro, Colonel Samuel F. Hays, Major Samuel V. Fulkerson, Colonel Benjamin Rush Floyd, Colonel Augustine J. Smith, Colonel James L. Kemper, Colonel A. Hughes Dillard, Colonel James H. Paxton, Colonel Samuel Downing, and Captain S. B. Gibbons. Colonel Taliaferro became the senior military officer of Virginia before the outbreak of the war, with rank of Major-General, Virginia Volunteers.

In 1858, Captain Stapleton Crutchfield, V. M. I., 1855, was appointed Adjunct Professor of Mathematics. Up to the time of their promotion, both Colston and Crutchfield had served at the Institute as tactical officers.

To the high character of the sub-faculty and tactical officers of the Institute much of the efficiency of the Corps has always been due, a fact that is readily understood by one familiar with the importance of an able staff.

Upon the tactical staff of Major Gilham, during the fifteen years previous to the war, were to be found many young officers afterwards prominent in the military service of the Confederacy. A list of the tactical officers during that period, with the positions attained by them in the service, or in civil life, is here given.

J. Q. Marr, 1846; member Secession Convention, 1861; Lieutenant-Colonel Virginia Infantry, C. S. A.; killed in battle.

M. E. Colston, 1846; Brigadier-General, C. S. A.

R. E. Rodes, 1848; Major-General, C. S. A.; killed in battle.

J. S. Gamble, 1848; Principal Norfolk Academy; died in 1857.

James W. Massie, 1849; Lieutenant-Colonel 51st Va. Reg., C. S. A.

James W. Allen, 1849; Colonel 2nd Va. Reg., C. S. A.; killed in battle.

Wm. D. Stuart, 1850; Colonel 56th Va. Reg., C. S. A.; killed in battle.

W. W. Gordon, 1850; Colonel 27th Va. Reg., C. S. A.

Daniel Trueheart, 1850; Major and Chief of Artillery, C. S. A., Jackson's Corps.

Thomas A. Harris, 1851; Major and Surgeon, C. S. A.

Henry A. Whiting, 1852; Major and Inspector General Rodes's Staff, C. S. A.

G. H. Smith, 1853; Colonel 62d Va. Reg., C. S. A.

E. V. Bargamin, 1855; Physician; died in France, 1860.

W. T. Patton, 1855; Colonel 7th Va. Reg., C. S. A.; killed in battle.

L. B. Williams, 1855; Colonel 1st Va. Reg., C. S. A.; killed in battle.

F. W. Smith, 1856; Lieutenant-Colonel Artillery, C. S. A.; killed in battle.

J. H. Lane, 1856; Brigadier-General, C. S. A.

P. B. Stanard, 1856; Major of Ordnance, C. S. A.

G. M. Edgar, 1856; Lieutenant-Colonel 26th Va. Reg., C. S. A.

John McCausland, 1857; Brigadier-General, C. S. A.

B. F. Stewart, 1857; Captain, C. S. A.; killed in battle.

P. P. Slaughter, 1857; Colonel 56th Va. Reg., C. S. A.

R. M. Mayo, 1857; Colonel 47th Va. Reg., C. S. A.

W. H. Otey, 1859; Captain Cavalry, C. S. A.

J. H. Chenoweth, 1859; Major 81st Va. Reg., C. S. A.; killed in battle.

J. D. H. Ross, 1859; Lieutenant-Colonel 52d Va. Reg., C. S. A.

Scott Shipp, 1859; Lieutenant-Colonel 21st Va. Reg., C. S. A.

J. G. Miller, 1860; Lieutenant, C. S. A.; Professor Baltimore City College.

A. S. Scott, 1860; Captain Cavalry, C. S. A.

Edward Cunningham, Jr., 1860; Major Engineers, C. S. A.

Thomas M. Semmes, 1860; Lieutenant and Adjutant Arkansas Infantry, C. S. A.

Marshall McDonald, 1860; Captain Infantry, C. S. A.; first U. S. Fish Commissioner.

William A. Smith, 1861; Captain and Assistant Adjutant-General, C. S. A.

One can not fail to be impressed by such a record. In this list of 33 tactical officers of the Institute, in a period of fifteen years, there are numbered 1 Major-General, 3 Brigadier-Generals, 8 Colonels, 6 Lieutenant-Colonels, 6 Majors, 5 Captains, and 2 Lieutenants. There are but two civilians, who both died before the war—one a physician and one a college professor. Nine of the number were killed in battle, and one was a member of the Secession Convention, and one the first Fish Commissioner of the United States, after the war.

In the Bill of Rights of Virginia, George Mason wrote: "A well regulated militia composed of the body of the people, trained to arms, is the proper, natural, and safe defense of a free State." Recognizing that great truth the Legislature of 1857-8 undertook, at the instance of the people, to reorganize the militia which had been practically disbanded. Immediately the graduates of the Institute were called into service to assist in the work and as Inspectors, especially, greatly aided the Adjutant-General; but it took time to create more than a skeleton organization in a State where little attention had been paid to the military establishment for four decades or more.

Hardly had the movement to regenerate the citizen soldiery gotten under way, when an incident portentous of the future occurred, and one upon which the writer is able to throw very little light. It may be that sub-

sequent research among the archives of the State will disclose more facts than can now be given. At any rate it is a well established fact that in the fall of 1858, secret orders were received by the Superintendent to double the guard at the Institute for the protection of the Arsenal and to issue ball cartridges to the cadets. The Governor, it seems, had information of a plot for the arming of a number of negroes at the Pewe Iron Works near Lexington, and the seizure of the arms in the Arsenal with which to start a servile insurrection among the slaves in Virginia.*

The Governor's orders were strictly carried out, but no uprising occurred. The supposed plan was almost identical with the one which John Brown sought to execute the following year, and it may be the Governor's alarm was not without foundation.

In the fall of 1859 an event transpired which may be assigned as a prelusive incident of the War between the States, for from the time of its occurrence even the most conservative people of the South began to prepare for the conflict.

On the night of Sunday, October 16, 1859, John Brown, the arch-abolitionist, advanced with a party of twenty-two men upon Harper's Ferry, Virginia, and seized the United States Armory and Arsenal established there. Throughout the next day, he held possession of the town, and committed the most atrocious acts of murder and destruction. It was his expectation that the negro slaves of the section, among whom his emissaries had been active for many months, would rise *en masse* and massacre the white population; but not one joined his force.

It was the afternoon of the 17th, when intelligence of the event reached Richmond; and, within ten minutes after its receipt, Governor Wise had ordered Colonel John Thomas Gibson, of Charles Town, commanding the militia regiment of the Harper's Ferry District, to mobilize his regiment. Similar instructions were tele-

*Letter of M. C. Ellzey, V. M. I., 1860, to Col. Jos. R. Anderson, Historiographer.

graphed Colonel Robert W. Baylor, of the Third Regiment of Militia Cavalry.

The military system of the State was still utterly inefficient, having nothing but a skeleton organization. Regiments were organized on paper, by districts, and only the few companies in the larger towns had yet been actually recruited and armed. The volunteer company of Charles Town, however, had assembled at the first notice of the invasion, and, by prompt action, had cut off Brown's expected reinforcements, and prevented his escape.

A number of companies of the First Virginia Regiment, stationed in Richmond, left that city Monday night on an hour's notice, for Washington, *en route* to the scene of the trouble, but, upon arriving there, learned that a body of United States Marines, under the command of Colonel Robert E. Lee, had proceeded to Harper's Ferry, and on Tuesday morning had battered down the doors of the Engine House in which Brown and his followers had barricaded themselves against the militia force, and had captured the murderers, along with their chief.

It was one o'clock P. M., when the Governor, with the troops from Richmond, arrived at Harper's Ferry. He immediately ordered the prisoners to be incarcerated in Charles Town, and established a force there as a guard.

The general public in and around Harper's Ferry was in no condition to give quarter to Brown, or any of his men; still, it is most creditable to Virginia that the infuriated people were willing to let the law take its course with the assassins who had assailed them while in their beds, and sought to instigate servile insurrection in their midst. They had absolute confidence in the ability of Captain John Avis to hold them in jail, especially when aided by the militia, and knew that a speedy trial would result.

The people were not idle, however, while they awaited the trial. Rumors of all kinds were rife. There was a

general belief that Brown would never have undertaken so perilous and impossible a task without assurance of reinforcements, either of organized slaves, or abolitionists from the North; and the belief that a rescue would be attempted was well-nigh universal. Brown himself expected to be rescued.

These conditions caused the citizens to arm themselves, and the Governor to keep the State troops constantly in readiness, and a part of them actually on guard in Charles Town; so that from the time of Brown's capture the town had the appearance of a military camp.

The preliminary examination was held October 25, 1857. The early morning found the Court-house safe from any attempt to release the prisoners. Cannon were posted before it, and every approach was guarded by the troops. Brown's counsel had not then been selected by him; so Colonel Davenport, the presiding justice assigned Hon. Chas. J. Faulkner, a member of the Board of Visitors of the Institute from 1848 to 1851, and Lawson Botts, Esq., an *élève* of the Institute, as temporary counsel for the defense.* The next day, the Grand Jury returned a true bill against the prisoners for treason, advising and conspiring with slaves and others to rebel, and for murder,—each offense punishable with death.

The trial proceeded without delay. Until the fourth day of the trial, Brown was represented by Messrs. Green, Botts, and Hoyt; but on the 29th of October, Messrs. Chilton and Griswold, eminent counsel from the North, selected by Brown's friends, appeared and conducted the defense. The Court adjourned that day until Monday, the 31st, when a verdict in the following words was returned: "We, the jury, find the defendant, John Brown, the prisoner at the bar, guilty of treason, advising and conspiring with slaves and others to rebel, and for murder in the first degree." "Signed by J. C. Wiltshire, Foreman."

*Mr. Faulkner declined to act as such, and Thomas C. Green was substituted for him.

November 2d, Brown was again brought into Court, when Judge Parker calmly sentenced him to be hanged on the 2d day of December, 1859, by the Sheriff of Jefferson County, "not in the jail yard, but at such other place in the county, convenient, as the said Sheriff might select."

Meantime, the Governor not only held the militia already there on guard, but directed other troops to assemble at Charles Town for the execution.

One may well imagine the interest which all these proceedings excited in Lexington. The cadets magnified the dangers a thousand-fold, and the wildest rumors were current at the Institute. The papers from the North gave long accounts of the sympathetic feeling for Brown and his band of assassins on the part of the abolitionists in that quarter, and the cadets fully believed that any day they might be ordered out to assist in repelling an invasion.

Orders of a different nature, however, soon arrived. Major-General William B. Taliaferro, commanding the Virginia Volunteers, formerly President of the Board of Visitors, was directed by the Governor to mobilize the militia at Charles Town; and the Superintendent of the Institute was ordered to dispatch a detachment from the Corps of Cadets to that point as the personal escort of the Governor. Colonel Smith himself was designated to superintend the execution. Thus, the Institute was to play a prominent part in an event of great national moment, the effect of which on the Corps can hardly be hinted at.

The Cadet command ordered by Colonel Smith to Charles Town late in November consisted of a detachment from the infantry battalion of 64 cadets organized as two companies, under Major Gilham, with Lieutenants McCausland, Otey, and Shipp comprising the tactical staff, and the howitzer section manned by 21 cadets, Major Jackson in command, and Lieutenant Trueheart attached.*

*Daniel Trueheart was afterwards Major and Chief of Artillery, Army of the Valley, Major-General T. J. Jackson commanding. The Corps numbered 161 cadets in 1859-60.

Majors Preston and Colston, Major E. L. Graham, Surgeon, and Captain J. T. Gibbs, Commissary of the Institute, comprised the staff of Colonel Smith.

The cadets reached Charles Town November 26th, *via* Washington.

The best account of the execution known to the writer was prepared, the evening of December 2d, by Major Preston, and it is here given practically in its entirety, as of especial interest to the Institute:

"The execution is over; we have just returned from the fields, and I have sat down to give you an account of it. The weather was very favorable; the sky was a little overcast, with a gentle haze in the atmosphere that softened, without obscuring, the magnificent prospect afforded here. Between eight and nine o'clock, the troops began to put themselves in motion to occupy the positions assigned them on the field, as designated on the plan I send you. To Colonel Smith had been assigned the superintendence of the execution, and he and his staff were the only mounted officers on the ground, until the Major-General and his staff appeared. By one o'clock all was arranged; the general effect was imposing, and, at the same time, picturesque. The cadets were immediately in rear of the gallows, a howitzer on the right and left, a little behind, so as to sweep the field. The cadets were uniformed in red flannel shirts which gave them a gay, dashing, zouave look, and were exceedingly becoming, especially the battery. They were flanked obliquely by two corps, the Richmond Grays and Company F, which, inferior in appearance to the cadets, were superior to any other companies I ever saw outside of the regular army. Other companies were distributed over the field, amounting in all to about 800 men. The military force was about 1,500.

"The whole enclosure was lined by cavalry troops posted as sentinels, with their officers—one on a peerless black horse, and another on a remarkable-looking white horse, continually dashing round the enclosure. Outside this enclosure, were other companies, acting as

rangers and scouts. The jail was guarded by several companies of infantry, and pieces of artillery were put in position for its defense.

"Shortly before eleven o'clock, the prisoner was taken from the jail, and the funeral cortége was put in motion. First, came three companies, then, the criminal's wagon, drawn by two large white horse. John Brown was seated on his coffin, accompanied by the sheriff and two other persons. The wagon drove to the foot of the gallows, and Brown descended with alacrity, and without assistance, and ascended the steep steps to the platform. His demeanor was intrepid, without being braggart. He made no speech; whether he desired to make one or not, I do not know. Had he desired it, it would not have been permitted. Any speech of his must, of necessity, have been unlawful, and as being directed against the peace and dignity of the Commonwealth, and as such could not be allowed by those who were then engaged in the most solemn and extreme vindication of law. His manner was without trepidation, but his countenance was not free from concern; and it seemed to me to have a little cast of wildness. He stood upon the scaffold but a short time, giving brief adieus to those about him, when he was properly pinioned, the white cap drawn over his face, the noose adjusted and attached to the hook above, and he was moved blindfold a few steps forward. It was curious to note how the instincts of nature operated to make him careful in putting out his feet as if afraid he would walk off the scaffold. The man who stood unblanched on the brink of eternity was afraid of falling a few feet to the ground!

"He was now all ready. The sheriff asked him if he should give a private signal before the fatal moment. He replied in a voice that seemed to me to be unnaturally natural, so composed was its tone, and so distinct its articulation, 'that it did not matter to him, if only they would not keep him too long waiting.' He was kept waiting, however. The troops that had formed

his escort had to be put into their position, and while this was going on, he stood for some ten or fifteen minutes blindfold, the rope around his neck, and his feet on the treacherous platform, expecting instantly the fatal act. But he stood for this comparatively long time upright as a soldier in position, and motionless. I was close to him and watched him narrowly to see if I could perceive any signs of shrinking, or trembling, in his person, but there was none. Once, I thought I saw his knees tremble, but it was only the wind blowing his loose trousers. His firmness was subjected to still further trial by hearing Colonel Smith announce to the sheriff, 'We are all ready, Mr. Campbell.' The sheriff did not hear, or did not comprehend; and in a louder tone the same announcement was made. But the culprit still stood steady until the sheriff, descending the flight of steps, with a well-directed blow, of a sharp hatchet, severed the rope that held up the trap door, which instantly sank sheer beneath him, and he fell about three feet; and the man of strong and bloody hand, of fierce passions, of iron will, of wonderful vicissitudes, the terrible partisan of Kansas, the capturer of the United States Arsenal at Harper's Ferry, the would-be Catiline of the South, the demi-god of the abolitionists, the man execrated and lauded, damned and prayed for, the man who in his motives, his means, his plans, and his successes, must ever be a wonder, a puzzle, and a mystery,—John Brown—was hanging between heaven and earth.

"There was profound stillness during the time his struggles continued, growing feebler and feebler at each abortive attempt to breathe. His knees were scarcely bent, his arms were drawn up to a right-angle at the elbow, with the hands clenched; but there was no writhing of the body, no violent heaving of the chest. At each feebler effort at respiration, his arms sank lower, and his legs hung more relaxed, until, at last, straight and lank he dangled, swayed to and fro by the wind.

"It was a moment of deep solemnity, and suggestive of thoughts that make the bosom swell. The field of execution was a rising ground, and commanded the outstretching Valley from mountain to mountain, and their still grandeur gave sublimity to the outline, while it so chanced that white clouds resting upon them gave them the appearance that reminded more than one of us of the snow-peaks of the Alps. Before was the greatest array of disciplined forces ever seen in Virginia, infantry, cavalry and artillery combined, composed of the old Commonwealth's noblest sons, and commanded by her best officers; and the great canopy of the sky overarching all, came to add its sublimity, ever-present, but only realized when other great things are occurring beneath each.

"But the moral of the scene was its grand point. A sovereign State had been assailed, and she had uttered but a hint, and her sons had hastened to show that they were ready to defend her. Law had been violated by actual murder and attempted treason, and that gibbet was erected by law, and to uphold law was this military force assembled. But, greater still—God's Holy Law and righteous Providence was vindicated, 'Thou shalt not kill'—'whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed.' And, here, the gray-haired man of violence meets his fate, after he has seen his two sons cut down before him, in the same career of violence into which he had introduced them. So perish all such enemies of Virginia! all such enemies of the Union! all such foes of the human race! So, I felt, and, so, I said, with solemnity, and without one shade of animosity, as I turned to break the silence, to those around me. Yet the mystery was awful,—to see the human form thus treated by men,—to see life suddenly stopped in its current, and to ask one's self the question, without answer. 'And what then?'

"In all that array there was not, I suppose, one throb of sympathy for the offender. All felt in the depths of their heart that it was right. On the other hand, there

was not one single word or gesture of exultation, or of insult. From the beginning to the end, all was marked by the most absolute decorum and solemnity. There was no military music, no saluting by troops as they passed one another, or anything done for show. The criminal hung upon the gallows for nearly forty minutes; and, after being examined by a whole staff of surgeons, his body was deposited in a neat coffin to be delivered to his friends, and transported to Harper's Ferry, where his wife awaited it. She came in company with two persons to see her husband last night, and returned to Harper's Ferry this morning. She is described by those who saw her as a very large, masculine woman, of absolute composure. The officers who witnessed their meeting in the jail said they met as if nothing unusual had taken place, and had a comfortable supper together.

"There was a very small crowd to witness the execution. Governor Wise and General Taliaferro had both issued proclamations, exhorting the citizens to remain at home and guard their property, and warned them of possible danger. The train on the Winchester Railroad had been stopped from carrying passengers and even passengers on the Baltimore Railroad were subjected to examination and detention. An arrangement was made to divide the expected crowd into recognized citizens and those not recognized; to require the former to go to the right, and the latter to the left. Of the latter, there was not a single one. It was told last night there were not in Charles Town ten persons besides citizens and military.

"There is but one opinion as to the completeness of the arrangements made on the occasion, and the absolute success with which they were carried out. I have said nothing about the striking effect of the pageant, as a pageant; but the excellence of it was that everything was arranged solely with the view of efficiency, and not for effect upon the eye. Had it been intended as a mere spectacle, it could not have been made more imposing;

or, had actual need occurred, it was the best possible arrangement."

A number of amusing incidents in connection with the Corps occurred at Charles Town. "Grand Rounds" was a vicious and sensational performance which general officers occasionally indulged in. It consisted of the General visiting all portions of his command at an unexpected hour, in order to satisfy himself that everything was in order and the guards were on the *qui vive*. Soon after the arrival of the Corps, General Taliaferro with an imposing staff undertook to make the "Grand Rounds," and for some reason the Cadet Guard was not as prompt in turning out as it should have been. The General made some adverse criticism of what he deemed to be laxity, which was very mortifying to the Corps. Lieutenants McCausland and Shipp determined that this would not occur again, and it so happened that when the next "Grand Rounds" were made, Lieutenant Shipp, the tactical officer in charge, had the Cadet Guard thoroughly instructed and turned it out in the promptest manner. The Major-General commanding was greatly pleased, and, inquiring the name of the young officer responsible for the instruction of the guard, caused him to be detailed to duty at the jail where John Brown was imprisoned.

The press was very sensational at this time, and the wildest rumors were circulated. People had visions of a hostile force sweeping down upon Charles Town at any moment. Where it was to come from, or how it was to get there, gave them little concern.

The cadet section of artillery was posted so as to sweep a certain approach, and Major Jackson gave Lieutenant Trueheart the most detailed instructions as to what kind of ammunition to use under various contingencies, even directing how the fuzes should be cut, should the enemy advance in this or in that direction!

Now it is doubtful if Jackson had any more idea that an enemy would assail Charles Town than the other officers of the Corps had, but the explicit nature of his

preparations shows that he was unwilling to be surprised, or found unprepared, in the most remote contingency.*

It is also related of Jackson that, while the Corps was in Washington, *en route* to Harper's Ferry, he placed his money in his stockings, which in turn he concealed beneath his pillow upon retiring at the hotel. The next morning he was unable to find his stockings, so donned a fresh pair. It was not until on the way to the depot, at the head of his battery, that he missed his money. Halting his command in the middle of Pennsylvania Avenue, he returned to the hotel where he recovered both his money and his stockings.

There is another incident connected with the service of the cadets at Charles Town, which is so full of moral force and beauty that the writer can not refrain from recording it here, to rescue it from oblivion. A widowed mother had four sons with the military at Charles Town —three of them cadets. November 29, 1860, she wrote them as follows:

"MY DEAR BOYS—To think you are in camp, preparing for war, and civil war, too! What a calamity! Yet I would not recall you if I could. I believe this is the hour of trial to all who love the Old Dominion, and I would not have one of my sons prove recreant to his native state. I have given you up cheerfully to God, and prayed His protecting care, and my trust is in Him to preserve and bring you back safely. I write to tell you that we have an eye turned upon you, and that our prayers go up for you.

"God bless you! God bless you! and keep you in the hollow of His hand,

"Prays your
"MOTHER."

With such mothers, the tyrant will never conquer the spirit of, though he may subdue, Virginia.

*The foregoing incidents were related to the writer by General Shipp.

CHAPTER VII

MILITARY PREPARATION

THE day after the execution of John Brown, the Corps accompanied Governor Wise to Richmond, *via* Washington, on his fifty-third birthday, December 3d. The Governor was immensely proud of the Corps, and wished to return to the capital, escorted by the gallant detail of cadets which had served as his body-guard during the most trying event of his public career. Their presence in Richmond, at such a time, was a fitting representation to the excited populace of the majesty of Virginia, which they had but recently assisted in vindicating.

While in Richmond, the artillery section, under Major Jackson, executed an interesting drill for the people in the Capitol Square. December 10th the cadets reached Lexington, after their fourth visit to the capital of the State.

The Governor, and the authorities of the Institute, well knew that the display of the Corps at such a time would advertise the Institute, and attract the attention of many to the means of providing military training for the youth of the State, and they were not disappointed in the results, for many applications for entrance were immediately received by the Superintendent.

One of the first official acts of Governor Wise, after the execution of John Brown, was to order the Superintendent to detail a competent officer of the Institute to prepare a Manual of Tactics for the volunteers and militia of Virginia. This task was promptly assigned to Major Gilham, Commandant of Cadets.

Perhaps no more difficult or important task could have been assigned an officer at this time. Drill regulations for all branches of the service were in a generally chaotic state, and even in the United States Army seven

texts were in use and none were satisfactory. No general Manual for the three arms existed.

Major Gilham was not slow to perceive the opportunity presented him, and addressed himself to the work in hand with characteristic energy. The result was, that by December, 1860 (or within a year), he published a military work entitled, "Manual of Instruction for the Volunteers and Militia."

This work was a distinct contribution to the military art as practised in America. It comprehended army organization, arms and ammunition, field service, staff duty, conduct of battles, military law and procedure, besides drill regulations for the Infantry, Artillery and Cavalry. The treatment of many of these subjects in such form was highly novel, and at once made available a Manual for the American soldier, dealing with every phase of instruction and not merely with formal drill.

The excellence of the work is attested by the fact that it was promptly adopted by the United States War Department to succeed Hardee's Tactics, and to supply the want of a more general treatise which had been so long experienced, but upon the outbreak of the war in 1861, Gilham's Manual was supplanted in the Federal Army by Casey's Tactics. It was at once adopted, however, by the Confederate States Army, and formed the basis of instruction for all arms throughout the war.

Thus, did the Institute contribute not only a host of gallant officers to the Southern cause, but also the system of training and instruction of the Confederate Army. It should ever be a matter of pride to the School that the frontispage of the Confederate Tactics read:

MANUAL OF INSTRUCTION

FOR THE

VOLUNTEERS AND MILITIA

CONFEDERATE STATES,

BY

WILLIAM GILHAM,

COLONEL OF VOLUNTEERS, INSTRUCTOR OF TACTICS, AND COMMANDANT OF CADETS,

VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE.

But Gilham's great work was not the sole contribution of the Institute to the military science of the time, as we shall see.

The treasonable acts of John Brown, and the widespread sympathy displayed in the North for that lawless character, forewarned the South that war was inevitable. The General Assembly of Virginia was, therefore, admonished to provide for the defense of the State. As early as November, 1859, the Board of Visitors of the Institute submitted to the Legislature a copy of its report to the Governor, the previous June. The preamble read:

"Actuated by these considerations, the Board of Visitors feel it to be their duty to urge upon Your Excellency, and beg that Your Excellency will enforce upon the General Assembly the importance and expediency of granting the inconsiderable, yet essential, aid from the State, which may enable the Institute to satisfy the pressing public wants and reasonable expectations."

The report contained many references to the imminence of war, and the duty of the State to prepare for the inevitable.

The result of such warning was an elaborate measure, contained in the Act of January 21, 1860, providing for the Public Defense, and appropriating the sum of $500,000.00 for the purchase of arms and equipment; and the Governor was authorized to appoint commissioners to make the purchases.

March 28th, another Act was passed, reciting that "it appearing further that the Corps of Cadets, in the course of their regular military education, may readily be employed to prepare munitions of war, as may be demanded by the wants of the State:

"I. Be it enacted, etc., etc."

The special enactment was the appropriation of the sum of $20,000.00 for the erection of new buildings.

It was at this time, also, that all the officers of the Virginia Military Institute were constituted a part of the military establishment of the State, subject to the orders of the Governor who was authorized to issue commissions to the Professors, Assistant Professors, and other officers, according to the rank prescribed by the regulations of the Institute. Such commissions conferred no rank in the active militia, however. The Board of Visitors, pursuant to this authority, fixed the military rank of full professors as that of colonel; associate professors, as lieutenant-colonel; adjunct professors, as major; and assistant professors as captain in the branch of the service in which they were required to give tactical instruction. From the first the Superintendent's rank had been fixed by law as colonel, and that of the Commandant as major of Engineers.*

The Commission for the Public Defense consisted of Colonel Philip St. George Cocke, Captain George W. Randolph, and Colonel Francis H. Smith. Randolph was a graduate of the United States Naval Academy, and later became Secretary of War in the Confederate Cabinet. Cocke was now again President of the Board of Visitors of the Institute.

So active was the commission appointed by the Governor, that additional appropriations aggregating $106,000.00 were made in March; and the Armory in Richmond having already been put in thorough condition, steps were taken to secure the newest "machinery, implements and material" for its operation. The Commission was furthermore directed to purchase the patent rights of "newly invented arms," whenever the same could be secured; and the armament procured was to be distributed for immediate use in the more exposed parts of the State. These were drastic measures, and clearly show what was in the minds of the people of Virginia.

In all these proceedings, and those which followed in connection with the armament of Virginia, it is not difficult to trace the influence of the Institute.

*The Act of 1859-60 was amended in 1912, giving officers of the Institute rank in the Virginia Volunteers.

The able men constituting the Commission, whose military training enabled them to grasp the seriousness of the situation, determined to visit the various arsenals of the country, and to open negotiations with the foremost manufacturers of arms in America, and abroad. They were accompanied by the recently-elected Governor, John Letcher, of Lexington, afterwards famous as the energetic War Governor. Their tour embraced visits to Springfield, Harper's Ferry, and the West Point Foundry, at Cold Spring, on the Hudson. While, at the last-named place, they were invited by Captain R. P. Parrott, one of the proprietors, a retired army officer and personal friend of Colonel Smith, to witness a series of experiments he was conducting with his new rifled field piece. The Ordnance Department of the Army had been slow to grasp the importance of Parrott's invention, just as it had declared the percussion cap interesting, but only as a toy,—not many years before; and Parrott had up to this time failed to secure the adoption of his gun.*

But the Virginians did not hesitate. The effect of the fire of Parrott's ordnance, which they witnessed from behind epaulments, convinced the commission of the superiority of the rifled gun over any ordnance they had seen; and Colonel Smith was instructed to invite the inventor to send one gun and 100 shells to the Institute to be thoroughly tested by Major Jackson, Instructor of Ordnance and Artillery Tactics.

Captain Parrott assented to the suggestion, and the gun was received at the Institute, July 5, 1860. Major Jackson caused a number of tent flies to be set up as targets, on the ridge across the river, north of the Institute, and, manning the new piece with a detail from his artillery class, gave it a most thorough trial.

The accuracy and the range of the gun were found to be astonishing, and the report of Major Jackson led to the immediate purchase by the commission of twelve

*It was not until November 1st, 1860, that an experimental board recommended the conversion of fifty per cent. of the guns at the forts and arsenals; but even then little attention was paid to rifled field pieces.

more rifled field pieces, with a large supply of shells therefor. These guns were first used, and with great effect, at the battle of Big Bethel, June 10, 1861, and the reputation they there acquired led to the general introduction of the Parrott field piece into the artillery of both armies.*

Distinguished witnesses of the range practice with the new piece in Lexington were Major D. H. Hill, and the Rev. William Nelson Pendleton, both of whom we have previously had occasion to refer to. Major Hill was still professor at Washington College, and Dr. Pendleton had been called to Lexington as the Rector of Grace Episcopal Church, in October, 1853. Both of these gentlemen had formerly served in the United States Artillery, and were, therefore, not disinterested spectators of Major Jackson's tests.

Jackson had at once grasped the situation. Being an artillery expert, he appreciated the great possibilities of rifled field pieces. The results he had obtained with the Parrott gun on the Institute range were startling to him, as well as to all those who had been accustomed to smooth bore guns the greatest range of which was from 1,800 to 2,000 paces. Even when firing at 1,000 paces, the result with the old guns had been so doubtful that gunners generally (as said by Hohenlohe) acted on the proverb: "The first shot is for the devil, the second for God, and only the third is for the King," that is to say, that at such a range only one-third of the shot would hit a target six feet high and fifty yards wide.

Jackson could have been little influenced by such rumors as may have sifted across the Atlantic before his own trial of the Parrott gun. His nature was not one which allowed him to be influenced by less than the most tangible knowledge, or experience. That the Americans knew little of European progress with rifling is again borne out by the fact that General Johnston, though frantic in his efforts to secure ordnance for his

*During the Civil War the West Point Foundry furnished the U. S. Government with 1,200 guns and 3,000,000 projectiles.

field artillery, wrote his Chief of Artillery in Richmond,* after the battle of Bull Run, "Do not fail to urge the making of 12-pounder howitzers. I have faith in them. Let them send guns and equipment, and leave us to organize. I enclose a requisition for equipment of a battery of rifles, which can not be filled here (Manassas). Will you see if the authorities in Richmond can do it? *Do not, however, let them prefer it to the fitting out of field-batteries of smooth bore guns.*"

In the light of the present day, it seems strange that so great a soldier, especially distinguished for his ability as an organizer, and for his military learning, should have failed to appreciate the lessons of Bethel, emphasized by current report. *Masked batteries* and *rifled guns* were subjects of common talk among the soldiery, and especially in the press of the time. McDowell's men had heard so much of these terrible things that they marched into Virginia, imagining them to crown every crest. The explanation lies in the fact that Johnston's experience had not so far brought him into personal familiarity with the new invention, already well known to Jackson and Pendleton, both of whom had first-hand knowledge of the new gun, through personal experience with it in Lexington, the previous year. Having staked his professional reputation, as it were, on his favorable report of the Parrott invention, Jackson was of course only confirmed in his views by the events of Bethel, and the subsequent accounts of the affair.

On the 10th of August, General Johnston wrote to President Davis urging an increase of the Artillery Arm, to be armed and equipped by borrowing material from the States, or by casting guns, especially in Richmond, adding a particular request for 12-pounder howitzers. Though thoroughly aware of the value of artillery, and attributing the success of the great Napoleon to its proper use, General Johnston had not yet realized the value of rifled ordnance, but when Pendleton be-

*Col. Wm. N. Pendleton, later Chief of Artillery, A. N. V.

came Chief of Artillery of Johnston's Army, he was soon able to enforce his views as to the new ordnance and overcome the prejudices of his commanding general.

The United States War Department was not ignorant of the tests made of Parrott's gun at the Institute, and the subsequent report of its own Board of Ordnance and Artillery officers was in its hands. Already, it had received exaggerated accounts of the effect of rifled pieces at Bethel. Now came to its ears the story of Hainesville, confirming the sudden reversal of opinion, and reassuring the authorities that no mistake had been made in providing McDowell with a large number of rifled pieces for his impending invasion of Virginia. As to the sudden popularity of the new gun in the Confederate Army, it is only necessary to refer, by way of explanation, to the fact that the influence of Jackson extended throughout the South, hundreds of his pupils holding important offices in the Confederate armies, each one of them, we may be sure, hanging upon the words of their former tutor in arms, by this time become a "martial divinity" in their eyes.

The Institute, then, through the President of the Board of Visitors, the Superintendent, and finally Major Jackson, was responsible in a large measure for the first practical use of rifled ordnance in war.

Late in the year 1860, Robert Emmet Rodes, the unsuccessful candidate for the chair filled by Jackson in 1850, was appointed Professor of Civil Engineering and Applied Mechanics at the Institute, and granted a year's leave of absence to visit Europe, for the purpose of study. Before his leave expired, however, the war broke out; and, though carried to the day of his death, at Winchester in 1864, as a Major-General, on the rolls, he never actually served a single day at the Institute as a full professor.

Important, in connection with the appointment of Colston and Rodes as professors, it is to be noted that the Institute no longer depended upon West Point for its officers, and that well before the war interrupted

to state, after expressing my most sincere thanks for your very kind offer, that it is not my wish to leave the service of the United States, *as long as it is honorable for me to remain in it; and, therefore, as long as my native state, Virginia, remains in the Union, it is my purpose to remain in the army, unless* requested to perform duties alike repulsive to honor and humanity.

"I am, very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"GEORGE H. THOMAS,

"Major U. S. Army."

If Major Thomas did not mean to signify to Governor Letcher (by the words italicised by the author) that it was his desire to remain in the army at that time (more than a month before Virginia seceded),—but his purpose to remain in it only so long as his native State, Virginia, remained in the Union,—then, it is clear that human language is worthless to express human purpose. When we consider this letter in connection with his voluntary application for the office of Commandant at the Institute, there can be no doubt of Major Thomas's intentions, as late as March, 1861. He remained in the Federal Army, as we all know, and was promoted to Major-General. That promotion was the bait of his loyalty; but he erred in grabbing it, for he was never fully trusted by the strangers among whom he remained, and, therefore, never given the opportunities he might have had in the Southern army.

There was always a large question mark after Thomas's name. Why did he remain in the Federal Army, after years of professing loyalty to the South? And then, too, we may rest assured his receptive attitude, in the early spring of 1861, was known to other persons than Colonel Smith, Major Gilham, and Governor Letcher.

It was also in 1860 that the Superintendent was directed by the Board to receive candidates for cadetship from other States, and immediately applications from the Southern States began to be received.

That same year, the General Assembly passed a resolution providing for the removal of General Henry

Lee's remains from Cumberland Island, Georgia, and their reinterment at the Virginia Military Institute. The advent of the war interfered with the execution of this plan. In 1913, they were removed to Lexington, pursuant to a resolution of the General Assembly of 1912, and placed in a vault, beside those of his illustrious son, Robert Edward Lee, in the Chapel of Washington and Lee University.

CHAPTER VIII

"DRAW THE SWORD AND THROW AWAY THE SCABBARD"

WHATEVER may have been the true contemporary estimate of Major Jackson, one thing is certain,—his interest in affairs became more apparent, his eyes a little brighter, his back, perhaps, straighter, and his step more agile, upon the near approach of war. The cadet gunners began to notice a firmer note in his voice, and all recalled his oft-repeated remark, now transcribed upon the cornice of the Chapel erected at the Institute in 1897 to his memory, "You Can Be Whatever You Resolve To Be."

The growing discontent in the country, in the fall of 1860 and the following winter, caused great excitement in the Corps. The newspapers were scanned with avidity in Barracks, and the accounts of military preparations fired the cadets with an enthusiasm for war which youth, careless of consequences but longing for opportunities to win glory, alone can feel.

After Lincoln's election, the New York *Herald* was the principal source of information from the North, and was read by Major Jackson with keen interest. One night he and his assistant were perusing the *Herald* in their section-room, neither having spoken for some time. "Major," inquired Lieutenant Cunningham, "would you like to see war?"

Major Jackson stopped reading his paper, and for five minutes hung down his head before replying. He then looked up, and, in a low and deliberate tone, said: "Mr. Cunningham, as a Christian, I wouldn't like to see war," and then raising his voice until it rang out like a bugle-call, with eye flashing and every fibre of his body tingling with excitement, added, "but as a soldier, sir, I would like to see war!"*

*This incident is related by General Henry T. Douglas, of New York and Virginia, to whom it was recounted by Major Cunningham, after the war.

Nothing that could he said would indicate what must have been the sentiments of the fiery cadets at this time, as well as the narration of this incident. How it must have inspired the Corps when it became known to them!

Throughout the winter of 1860-61, a spirit of intense restlessness pervaded Barracks; at times the cadets became turbulent though never insubordinate. The explosion of bombs and other disorders were of almost daily occurrence. The guard was increased and the penalty of dismissal promptly inflicted on all who were apprehended in the disorders, and finally the disturbances ceased for the time being, only to be followed by an incident of grave consequence.

February 22, 1861, James W. Thomson, who met a gallant death at Sailor's Creek as a major of Horse Artillery, after four years of distinguished service in the Confederate Army, and D. Murray Lee, a son of Sidney Smith Lee, and a nephew of Robert E. Lee, both of whom were Fourth Classmen at the time, hoisted a secession flag at reveille on the tower of Barracks from which Old Glory usually fluttered in the breeze, beside the State flag on the other tower. Captain Lee has recently furnished me, through Captain Colonna, with a full description of the incident and a sketch of the secession flag, which he and Thomson made with shoe blacking, and a cadet issue sheet. In the center it displayed the Goddess of Liberty and the motto—*Sic Semper Tyrannis*. At the top appeared in bold letters—Hurrah for South Carolina.*

As soon as the strange flag was discovered by the guard it was hauled down; but, in the excitement it was recaptured by Thomson and Lee, and buried by them in the stove at the military store. The bold escapade, the parties to which were undiscovered, served to arouse intense enthusiasm in the Corps of Cadets for the cause of secession. There were not only many cadets present from the far South, but secession meant war, and the ardent youth of the Institute, who reckoned little of the

*South Carolina had of course already seceded. Captain Lee served in the Confederate Navy under his father, Admiral Lee.

meaning of armed conflict between North and South, thirsted for adventure and largely supported that course most certain to yield them the opportunities they longed for.

Another incident which made a deep impress upon the minds of the cadets, and which was later forcibly recalled to them, occurred in March, 1861.

The Secession Ordinance of Virginia had not then been enacted, but on the 18th of April, the Confederacy had been born at Montgomery, with South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas as constituent states of the New Sovereignty.

The sentiment in the Corps was by this time almost overwhelmingly in favor of secession. Rockbridge County and Lexington were vehemently opposed to the withdrawal of Virginia from the Union. Members of the Corps were almost daily hoisting secession flags about the Institute, in spite of the vigorous efforts of the authorities to suppress such actions. At this time, a fine volunteer company, composed of young men of Lexington and vicinity, with Captain Sam Letcher, brother of the Governor at its head, was being regularly drilled on Saturdays, in the town. It was announced that on a certain Saturday the cadets would raise a secession flag, and the volunteers the Stars and Stripes. This brought large numbers of people to town, most of whom came provided with arms. The Unionists were greatly in the majority, and after they had witnessed the cadets raise the Stars and Bars, they determined to have their own flag-raising. But by some means the partisans of secession bored holes in the pole provided by the Unionists and when it was raised the Union flag fell to the ground amid joyous expressions from the opposing party.

Several onlookers were slightly injured by the falling pole, and the leg of one man was broken. The unhappy issue of the affair greatly aggravated the more violent Unionists who at first attributed their misfortunes to the cadets, who, nevertheless, vehemently denied any part in the affair.

MAJOR-GENERAL FRANCIS HENNEY SMITH

SUPERINTENDENT 1839-1890

The following Saturday, when the cadets as usual were allowed to visit Lexington, several of them became involved in a dispute with a party of armed mountaineers who were openly in sympathy with the Union party. The dispute which arose over the flag incident soon developed into a fracas in which Cadet J. K. Thomson, and perhaps one other, were roughly handled by the countrymen.

Upon the cadets reaching Barracks with bloody faces and uniforms, the rumor spread abroad that a cadet had been killed in Lexington by the Unionists. The alarm was at once sounded on the guard house drum, and in a few seconds Galloway, the First Captain of the Corps, rushed through the court-yard and sally-port, brandishing his sabre and calling in his commanding tones for the Corps to *"Turn Out Under Arms."*

The response to Galloway's command was immediate. The cadets assembled at their usual posts, a detail was made to man two field guns, the companies called off, and the Battalion, fully armed and provided with ball cartridges hitherto issued to them, was led off in columns of fours by Galloway toward Lexington by the customary route leading over the parapet. Upon reaching the main road to the town the Battalion was formed in column of companies at full distance. Upon the head of the column reaching Governor Letcher's residence, just beyond the Institute reservation, a number of officers who had been sitting on the porch endeavored to turn back the cadets, but they heeded only Galloway's commands to press on. At this juncture the Superintendent arrived, but failing to reach Galloway, and being unfamiliar with the nature of the demonstration, also failed in his efforts to disperse the cadets.

The news had reached Lexington that the cadets were forming for an attack upon the town, filling the citizens with consternation, for they clearly foresaw what would be the consequence of an armed conflict between the cadets and the rugged mountaineers and the other Unionists sympathizers, who were preparing to

defend themselves if need be. Furthermore, in order to protect the citizens, the local volunteer company had been called out and stationed in a position to bar the progress of the cadets to the town. The situation was one of general misunderstanding on both sides, and was relieved in the very nick of time by a deputation of leading citizens who, investigating the causes of the disturbance, were able to assure the officers of the Institute that no cadet had been killed.

"Meanwhile, a tall, sinewy, well-formed man, with a slight stoop in his shoulders, large feet and hands, retreating forehead, blue-grey eyes, straight nose, strong mouth and chin held well to the front, appeared on the scene. In measured gait, Major Thomas Jonathan Jackson walked up and down before the Battalion which he viewed closely, then looked at the surroundings and the position of the opposing forces. He uttered no words, but his movements grew more animated every moment; his statue straightened and grew taller and bigger, and his merit, which was known to all, made him the central figure. Still, the formation of the Battalion went on. A leader who would take command was only needed, while three hundred yards up the street the volunteer company of a hundred young men, well-officered, armed, and equipped, had been drawn up across the street, supported by five times their number of the citizens of the town and county, armed with shot guns, rifles and pistols."*

On past the next house marched the column until the leading company was confronted by a superbly mounted officer, who caused it to mark time, each company as it closed doing the same until the Battalion was closed in mass, but still marking time.

"Mr. Galloway," said the soldierly officer in a firm but low tone as he rose in his stirrups, "halt the column." "Battalion, Halt," commanded Galloway.

"Face them about and take them back to Barracks," said the quiet mannered, unruffled officer, and his

*The War, James H. Wood, V. M. I., 1861.

directions were hardly given before the Corps was countermarched, passing the perfectly manned section of artillery as it returned past the guard tree.

By the time Galloway had halted his command, every member of which stood dumfounded but unable through force of training and habit to disobey when once the ranks were closed, he had received instructions from the Superintendent. "Go to your rooms and disarm and assemble at once in Colonel Preston's section-room," directed the First Captain, and this was quickly done as ordered.

The reader must agree with those who recall this incident accurately, that the conduct of that Battalion evidenced a most remarkable state of discipline among its members. Only one familiar with the force which the mob spirit of 300 stalwart youths with arms in their hands can set on foot, is able to appreciate this incident in its full significance. Here we see the mob spirit, fanned to a frenzy by the belief that physical violence had been unjustly and wantonly offered one of the mob. In an instant the suppressed animosities, which had been generating for months, burst out in a great flame of pent-up rage. The cry of a leader is heard—"Turn Out under Arms!" The meaning of that summons is known of all—the very tone of authority which makes the summons a command quickens, and seems to justify, even in the coolest minds, the sense of the righteousness of revenge. In an instant 300 madmen seize their arms; in another instant about the mob is thrown the coil of discipline, and frenzied individuals no longer rush hither and thither in the surge of the mob, but stand shoulder to shoulder in the silent ranks, breathlessly awaiting the voice of a leader ordained by order, or habit, or common consent, what you will. No longer do we hear the din of mingled cries and imprecations. The eyes of these 300 youths no longer flash forth that half-animal ferocity of the frenzied mob. The ranks are closed. A familiar voice directs. The directions are not incoherent, demagogical ravings,

serving to fan the flame of senseless frenzy smothered awhile. They are old, familiar commands. Each jaw is firmly set; each eye now gleams with resolution mingled with ordered intelligence. The great human throng moves, not with the hysterical jerk of the mob, but with a smoothness born of common intent. Suddenly through the force of discipline alone, the purpose of a single mind has substituted itself for the confusion of many others. The mob mind has been overcome; the will of the leader has become that of the crowd—the mob has vanished as suddenly as it came into being. And so transpires the psychological transformation which caused Major Colston, on his superb charger "Pompy," to meet, not an unreasoning mob, but a body of soldiers trained to obey; a body whose unconscious but highest boast was its ability to subordinate individual desires to the will of a superior.

We may search afar for a more striking example of the value of military discipline. Few incidents convey a better lesson for those who in their ignorance contend that uniforms and arms alone are capable of making soldiers of citizens in the hour of emergency. In this incident will the psychologist also find much of interest, and before dismissing it we should ponder well the element of influence which Major Colston, known to the cadets as "Old Polly," brought to bear on the collective will. As his subsequent career shows he was a natural leader. Intuitively he knew that unflinching calmness, not hysteria, was the note his command should convey. He knew the danger of a discordant word at such a time. It is such intuitive knowledge that enables some men to rise superior in time of crisis, and the lack of such that causes others to fail under the strain.

When the cadets were finally assembled in the section-room to which Galloway had ordered them to repair, they were excoriated by the Superintendent for their conduct. They inwardly resented his charge of insubordination and felt that they had been guilty of no such act in refusing to break their ranks until ordered

to do so by their immediate commander whom the Superintendent and the other officers they had encountered had not approached. Colonel Preston and Major Massie next spoke in turn and then the cadets began to call for a speech from Major Jackson, who had been a silent but interested observer of the proceedings, both in the town and in the assembly hall. At first Jackson declined to respond and only arose at the reiterated request of Colonel Smith.

"At once, he mounted the rostrum and faced his audience. His erect figure, flashing eye, energetic expression,—short, quick and to the point,—disclosed to the commonest mind a leader of merit. He said, 'Military men make short speeches, and as for myself, I am no hand at speaking, anyhow. The time for war has not yet come, but it will come, and that soon; and when it does come, my advice is to draw the sword and throw away the scabbard.'

"The personality of the speaker, the force of those simple words thus uttered, elicited a response of approval I never heard surpassed, except for the Confederate yell often heard on the battlefield, a little later on. This simple speech and manner of Jackson established in the minds of his audience the belief that he was a leader upon whose loyalty and courage we could rely."*

Thus it was, that Major Jackson, "Old Tom Fool," sprang into prominence among the cadets as the "man of the hour" in their military world. Who shall say that psychology does not play a leading rôle in war?

*The War, James H. Wood, V. M. I., 1861. Captain Wood's description of the action of the cadets in marching to the town is very interesting but in some respects erroneous, according to several other participants.

wore the blue or the gray, and peace, peace to your ashes wherever they lie! And when I recall the gentleness of their natures and the blessings the sacrifices of their lives brought to our country and humanity, I feel like saying to the National Peace Society, which in its laudable, humanitarian enthusiasm puts all wars in the category of barbarism, that those men condemned and abhorred commercial and ambitious war as much as you do; but, members of the Peace Society, lofty and humane as is your purpose, sweet as are the days and the songs of peace, so long as there is iron in the blood, life will be laid down as they laid theirs down for Home, for Justice, and the free exercise of Natural rights, and heartily self-respecting manhood will exclaim, Amen!"

Yes. What a just pride we have in that little band of blue-clad soldiers, one of whom later sent his first-born son to be trained in our halls as an evidence of his devotion to Alma Mater.

If, perchance, the reader should fail to understand, even after reading the foregoing words, the attitude of the V. M. I. toward her sons who espoused the Union cause, let him know that her sentiments are those of the loving parent whose ennobled story we shall tell; the story of William H. Terrill of Bath County, Virginia.

In 1849 the father entered one of his four sons as a cadet at West Point; in 1854 another at the Institute. The first, William Rufus, attained the rank of Brigadier-General of U. S. Volunteers and after distinguished service in the Federal Army laid down his life in the battle of Perryville, October 8, 1862. The second, James Barbour, was graduated from the Institute in 1858, soon to become a major in, and then the colonel of, the "gallant" 13th Virginia Regiment in command of which he won for himself the stars of a Confederate brigadier, and a glorious death on the field of Bethesda Church, May 31, 1864. After the war, when brothers no longer stood arrayed against each other, the bodies of William and James, whose swords were sheathed forever, were brought by the stricken father to the home of their boyhood and laid in a single grave, where they rest in the embrace of eternal peace. But above their heroic remains and that single grave,

there stands a stone upon which may be read the inscription: "This monument erected by their father. God alone knows which was right."

God alone knew which ones were right, but ere Virginia actually seceded men had begun to anticipate the act and prepared to array themselves under the standards which already waved defiant in the heated breeze. Already those cadets loyal to the Union had withdrawn from the Institute, and hundreds of graduates were seeking military office in the South.

It was a striking justification of the faith which Virginia had reposed, during the past twenty years, in her School of Arms, that the first military organization she sent afield, and before she seceded, was commanded by an old cadet, Captain Reuben Lindsay Walker, a graduate of the Class of 1845. He had been a civil engineer for some years after leaving the Institute, and had finally settled upon a farm in New Kent County. Upon visiting Richmond, he was accosted by Mr. John Purcell, a wealthy citizen who had with his own means uniformed and equipped the battery named after himself. Knowing Walker's fitness for command, he insisted on his accepting a commission as captain, without giving him time to return home to bid his wife farewell; and it was nearly a year before he saw his family again, for the battery was ordered to the neighborhood of Aquia Creek immediately after the State seceded. It was armed with six of the Parrott field guns which the Commissioners had purchased on Jackson's recommendation, and received its baptism of fire in the battle of First Manassas where Walker distinguished himself by exploding a shell on the stone bridge over which the enemy was retreating, adding greatly to the confusion of the rout by turning over a number of gun carriages and vehicles which blocked the bridge. Reuben Lindsay Walker afterwards became Chief of Artillery, 3d Corps, and in 1864, after serving throughout the greater part of the war as a colonel, was finally promoted Brigadier-General of Artillery. There were but four officers of

that grade in the Artillery of the Army of Northern Virginia, the others,—Pendleton, Long and Alexander, —all being West Pointers.

It was not until April 17th that Virginia seceded from the Union. That night, the Governor directed the Adjutant-General to order Colonel Smith to report in Richmond. On reaching the capital, Colonel Smith was informed that the Convention of Virginia had appointed a "Council of Three," upon the nomination of the Governor, to aid, counsel and advise him in the exercise of his executive authority, in the emergency upon the State.

This Council was composed of the following members:

Hon. John J. Allen, President of the Court of Appeals of Virginia.

Commodore Matthew Fontaine Maury, late Superintendent, U. S. Observatory.

Colonel Francis H. Smith, Superintendent, Virginia Military Institute.

Later, the Council was augmented by the addition of Hon. R. L. Montague, President of the Convention, and General Thomas S. Haymond.

In order to show how imminent the probability of a call upon the Corps of Cadets appeared to the Acting Superintendent, after Colonel Smith was summoned to Richmond, the following order is here given:

"HEADQUARTERS VIRGINIA MIL. INST.,
"April 18, 1861.

"ORDER—No. 61.

"The following is the order of exercises until further orders:

"Drill at Battery daily, from 5:30 to 6:30 P. M.
"2nd Class Mil. Engineering, from 8 to 10 A. M.
"4th Class, Inf'ty Tactics, from 8 to 10 and 2 to 3.
"3rd Class Art. Tactics, from 9 to 10 A. M.
"4th Class Mortar and Rifle Cannon Drill, 6 to 7 A. M.
"Battalion Drill, from 3 to 4 P. M. daily.
"Artillery Tactics, 8 to 9 A. M. daily.
"Strategy, from 10 to 11 daily.

"Light Infantry, from 10 to 11 A. M.
"First and Second class in the Laboratory, from 11 to 1.
"By order of Major Preston,

"T. M. SEMMES,
"Adjutant V. M. I."

From a perusal of this order it is not difficult to understand what were the expectations of all.

The same day, the authorities of Washington College applied for a detail of officers and cadets to instruct the "Liberty Hall" Volunteers, a company recruited from among the College students. To this work Major Williamson, Captain Hardin, Lieutenants Henderson, and Semmes, and such cadets as might be required by them, were assigned and the Commandant was directed to issue from the Arsenal such flint-lock muskets as the College company might need.

After consultation with the Council, it was deemed advisable by the Governor to establish a Camp of Instruction in the vicinity of Richmond for the local troops, and to utilize the cadets the services of whom had been tendered by the Superintendent, as drill-masters. This decision was reached during the late afternoon of April 20th, and, early the next morning, the following telegraphic dispatch was received in Lexington:

"RICHMOND, April 20, 1861.

"Send courier to Major Preston immediately to send Corps of Cadets to Richmond. Let inefficient cadets remain to aid as guard, and get volunteers from Lexington to aid as guard. Bring down all the ordnance stores with full supply of ammunition. Major Gilham and Mr. Catlett will report here, without delay.

"WM. H. RICHARDSON,
"Adjutant-General."

And, now, let us read the order immediately published by Major Preston announcing the receipt of this dispatch:

"When the muster is held for men who have souls to defend their native soil from violation, insult and subjugation, the heart of every Virginian responds to the voice, and, with stern delight, he answers, 'Here!'

"Words are not necessary now to stimulate.

"The Corps of Cadets will prove their birth and breeding, and exhibit to Virginia the work of her favorite Institute. The cadet will not fail to manifest the advantage which the military training gives to him over those not less brave than himself. The Corps will go forth the pride of its friends, the hope of the State, and the terror of her foes. May the blessing of the God of Hosts rest upon every one who is battling in this holy cause!

"The march will be performed as directed by special order.

"In the march, the Corps will be under the command of Major Jackson. Major Colston is assigned to duty as Acting Commandant of Cadets, and will report to Major Jackson. Lieutenant Cunningham will act as Assistant Commandant of Cadets, and will report to Major Colston. Lieutenant McDonald is assigned to the Artillery, and will report to Major Jackson. Lieutenant Semmes will accompany the Corps as Adjutant.

"Dr. R. L. Madison, Surgeon, and Dr. J. R. Page, Assistant Surgeon, will comprise the Medical Staff. Assistant Surgeon Page will be with the Corps on the march.

"Commissary Gibbs will accompany the Corps as far as Staunton.

"By order of the Adjutant-General, Lieutenants McCausland and Shipp will remain here to raise companies.

"The details will be prepared, as heretofore ordered, and be ready to be inspected at 10 o'clock.

"At 12:30 o'clock they will be formed to march. Dinner at 12 o'clock.

"The following detail is made of cadets to form a guard of the Virginia Military Institute.

"By order of Major Preston,

"T. M. SEMMES,
"Adjutant."

Then followed a detail of 48 of the younger, and less experienced, cadets to remain at the Institute.

One may well imagine the elation of those selected to go with "Old Jack" to Richmond, and the bitter chagrin of the younger lads, drafted from among their fellows, to remain in Barracks. The joys and the bitterness of that hour can not be recorded in history.

Long before the appointed hour the Corps assembled and chafed with youthful impatience at the delay, as Major Jackson paced back and forth in front of the Washington Statue. "Let us go, let us go," the ardent youth cried. "When the clock strikes the hour we will

march, and not until then," their stern commander replied, and ere the hour ceased to strike, the sharp order, "For-ward—March" rang out upon the glorious spring air from Major Jackson's lips. Jackson was very much annoyed by the persistent and impatient importunities of the cadets to move off. To show them he had no intention of moving until the appointed time, he sent to the mess-hall for a mess stool, and on it he took his seat by the statue. That stool he took with him to Richmond, and all through his campaigns. It is now in the possession of the family of General Pendleton in Lexington.

It was now that the Virginia Military Institute was to subserve the distinctive purpose of its creation, for Governor Letcher, thoroughly familiar with the School, its military traditions, its noble ideals, and the peculiar efficiency of the Corps, by reason of his residence in Lexington, and his intimate association with the officers of the Institute, had ordered the Corps to proceed to Richmond to provide drill-masters for the volunteers, and to impart to the raw soldiery of the South the principles contained in Gilham's Manual.

Dangers were thickening rapidly around the State. Invasion by overwhelming numbers seemed imminent. Norfolk, Richmond, Alexandria, and Harper's Ferry were threatened. Such was the condition of affairs when the Corps entered upon the fulfillment of the high mission for which it had been so earnestly preparing the past twenty-two years.

To console the heartbroken youths who remained behind,—whose misery was as abject as their disappointment was keen,—Major Preston published during the afternoon an order assigning Major Crutchfield to duty as Acting Commandant of Cadets, and Captain Hardin as his Assistant.

"The whole Corps is now in active service, and the detail made for the post, is made by the same order from the Adjutant-General of Virginia, which put on the march those who have just left us. Those who remain are doing duty to Virginia as really, and it may be as efficiently, as those who are gone. It is not the service that

any one of us would prefer. But the soldier who is prepared to do only such duty as pleases him, is not to be trusted. The soldier that would desert a post, would fly in battle."

But the order reciting the foregoing was poor consolation for the little band held in Lexington, and the utmost discontent among its members was manifested, without, however, any indication of insubordination, or neglect of duty.

The following day, the "Rockbridge Greys," a local volunteer company, Captain Updike commanding, was consolidated with the remaining cadets, and military exercises for all, and academic duty for the cadets, resumed.

As the Corps crossed the bridge over the North River, and ascended the hills beyond, on the day of its departure, a lingering look from every eye was cast behind at the fading outlines of Barracks, which like a great, gray castle crowned the distant plateau. How many cadets have seen those castellated walls thus vanish from their view! But have any lost the mental picture of those martial halls in which the heart-aches and joys of youth combine to make the memory of cadet-days, whether bitter or sweet, yet glorious?

"There, our laudable boyish ambitions had been aroused, our hopes kindled, and our mental and physical manhood developed; there, each was independent of his fellows, yet all were a band of brothers." There, each had learned how to obey, and hence went forth into an unknown world, knowing the secret of command.

Two hundred strong, the Corps pressed on towards Staunton, the battery armed with the four 6-pounder cadet guns, and the baggage wagons rumbling on behind, in a vain effort to keep apace with the unwearying feet of the boy infantry in the van. Ten miles out, and a farm wagon was impressed to carry the cadet knapsacks; but no thought of a bivouac short of Staunton was entertained, for this was the first of "Stonewall" Jackson's foot-cavalry! Staunton, thirty-eight miles away, was reached at 10 o'clock that night.

Major Jackson may have made longer marches, and we know he commanded larger forces, in later days; but, of this we may be sure, he never commanded a more gallant band, or one which possessed a greater nerve, than that which he led over the blue hills of Rockbridge and Augusta, out from the confines of youth, and into the world of glory beyond, on the 21st of April, 1861; for it was that same body of Southern youth that later formed the backbone of his victorious armies, bearing the eagles of his triumphs and the burden of his fame.

Footsore and weary, the cadets slept well the night of their first real day of military service, quartered in the hotels of Staunton, but arose bright and ready for the work of the next morning. First, the guns and baggage had to be loaded on flat cars, and everything carefully packed for the movement by rail to Richmond. This done, several hours were allowed them to stroll about the town in their natty gray uniforms. Staunton in those days boasted of a number of fine schools for girls, as it does at the present time; and the fair pupils with their matronly guardians were permitted for once to mingle with the gallant soldier lads, ere they departed.

At last, the "Assembly" sounded and the Corps entrained amid the cheers and huzzas of the populace. As the troop train, always an inspiring sight to the citizen, pulled out with its brave passengers, many were the tears, the fond farewells, the longing glances, and "the girls they left behind them."

All went well until the heavy train reached the Blue Ridge tunnel on the old Central Railroad (now the Chesapeake and Ohio). There, an exciting, and somewhat perilous, catastrophe occurred. "The train consisted of passenger cars for the officers and Corps and flat cars for the battery and baggage. It was a 'special,' and hence had no schedule time. When well in the tunnel, which is nearly a mile long, our engine was derailed. The smoke from it filled the cars, and the narrow space around them. We could not go forward, for the engine and force engaged blocked the way; nor

could we go back, as we would be in danger of being left, as the engine might be ready for duty any minute and would at once pull out. To add to our peril, another train from the direction whence we came was about due, as per schedule time, and was liable to collide with ours, in which event results could but be imagined. Thus we were held veritable prisoners for nearly two hours, imperiled by the dangers of an oncoming train and the suffocating smoke from our own engine,—our first lesson in the privation and hardships of war."

Soon, however, the derailed engine was righted, and the train moved off, meeting with ovations all along the route. Before the Corps reached Richmond few coatees were capable of being buttoned, for the V. M. I. button was then, as now, most popular among the fair sex.

"Late in the afternoon, Richmond loomed up to view. This was another new sight, for most of us were from rural districts, and had never seen a city. From the station we marched to the front of the Capitol Building in Capitol Square. Here the Corps was reviewed by His Excellency, the Governor, who made a little talk, and the compliments were pleasing to boys (as we were). He said, among other things, that war was upon us and much depended upon our work in preparing an army for the field. Then, amid the waving of handkerchiefs by the dames and maidens, and the huzzas of the men and boys (a large number of whom had gathered to see and greet us), we marched to what was then known as the new Fair Grounds, about a mile west of the city."

So forcibly did "Honest John," the Governor, present the needs of Virginia in his address, so flatteringly did he refer to the ability of the Corps to meet the demands of the State, and so seriously did he charge the cadets, individually and collectively, with the great responsibilities imposed upon them, that no lad marched away from his inspiring presence without silently pledging himself to the faithful service of his country. Thus did the fledglings, within a brief hour, become

men with the fullest responsibilities of manhood and of their calling.

The Corps was quartered in the Exhibition buildings surrounded by the beautiful Fair Grounds, which were well suited for a camp of concentration and instruction. All arrangements for its accommodation had been perfected in advance by Colonel Gilham, by whose suggestion the camp had been named after his old friend, Colonel Robert E. Lee, now the senior officer of Virginia.

Soon, General Magruder, Jackson's old battery commander, arrived, and assumed charge of the artillery, and immediately the undrilled, undisciplined, partly unarmed, and un-uniformed volunteers of Virginia began to arrive at Camp Lee.

The raw volunteers afforded much amusement to the well-trained cadets. Many of them reported with squirrel rifles, shot guns, butcher's knives, and ancient horse pistols. Some wore red shirts and coon-skin caps, and all were imbued with the belief that the true soldier must present a dare-devil aspect with the unkempt hair and scraggly beard of the border ruffian. To these men the trim cadets appeared play-soldiers and dandies, almost beneath their contempt, and they at first regarded the little "whipper-snappers" placed over them with the utmost disfavor.

As the volunteers arrived, were mustered into the service, and organized into regiments, and batteries, drill-masters (one to a company) were assigned to them from the Corps of Cadets. General Magruder at once called upon Major Jackson to designate twelve cadets skilled in gunnery and artillery drill to be assigned to the difficult task of drilling and assisting in organizing the light batteries, among which were the 1st, 2d, and 3d Companies of Richmond Howitzers, the Richmond Fayette Artillery, and the Hampden Artillery from Richmond, the Beauregard Rifles from Lynchburg, and other artillery organizations destined to become famous in the ensuing war.

Soon, Captain Edward Porter Alexander, recently resigned from the U. S. Engineers, already distinguished as a former Commandant of West Point, and as an expert in the novel signal-system developed by Myer, arrived from the West, to assume direct charge of the Artillery instruction. It was he who urged the organization of the three batteries of Richmond Howitzers, commanded by Captains J. C. Shields, J. Thompson Brown, and Robert Stanard, respectively, into a battalion with George W. Randolph as Major. Thus, the cadets were identified with the first battalion of Field Artillery ever created in America.

So efficient was the work of the cadets, that within a few weeks the Confederacy was threatened with losing their services as drill-masters, by reason of their absorption into the army as officers. Many of them were commissioned, ere a month had elasped; but enough remained at the disposal of the authorities with which to whip into shape the 20,000 volunteers assembled at Camp Lee, and as a just tribute to the value of their services and of the Institute, the Convention unanimously adopted a most complimentary resolution in July, and an allowance of $20 a month, in addition to subsistence, was made each cadet drill-master.

In June, 1861, there were *433* (467 less 34 dead) graduates of the Institute living, and the vast majority of those were commissioned officers in the various armies of the South before the first hostile move was made, and this was also true of the *654* (741 less 87 dead) non-graduates, among the *élèves* of the School, living then. July 15, 1861, the Superintendent reported to the Board that one-third of the field officers in the Volunteers, and two-thirds of those in the Provisional Army, were graduates or ex-cadets, while the number of captains and lieutenants were in proportion to the field officers. The result was, that the jealousy of the volunteers throughout the South, and especially in Virginia, was aroused, and a thoughtless prejudice

arose in the public mind against the Virginia Military Institute, which was supposed to have exerted an undue influence upon Governor Letcher, in the matter of military appointments.

Such is always the case in a country where no definite military policy prevails, and no adequate provision for defense is made, in time of peace. Civilians, who necessarily comprise the bulk of the army, when the call for volunteers is made, ever display the most unreasonable prejudice against men better equipped than themselves to lead. They ignore utterly the years of devoted service and preparation of trained soldiers, asserting, in their ignorance and self-confidence, their own natural abilities to command. By some illogical process of reasoning that sets at naught the history of war, they even disparage those who have devoted years to the study of military science. They point with conviction to such far-fetched examples as Cleon and Narses, not realizing that "pestilent demagogues and mutilated guardians of Eastern zenanas have not always been successful in war," and, in their conceit, earnestly believe that they, if but the opportunity be given them, will, like Cincinnattus, prove the saviours of their country. They can not, as a rule, comprehend that untrained soldiers who have attained success in war are the exceptions, which prove the rule, and if they do perceive the inexorable truths which history should impress upon us, they confidently believe themselves to be the exceptions.

So, it was that Gilham's and Jackson's services were forgotten, and when they were nominated for promotion as colonels in May by Governor Letcher, many of the members of the Legislature inquired, "Who is this Thomas J. Jackson?"

"I can tell you who he is," Hon. Samuel McDowell Moore, of Rockbridge replied, "If you put him in command at Norfolk, he will never leave it alive, unless you order him to do so."

While the hue and cry against them continued, the cadets continued to "shoot discipline" into the raw volunteers entrusted to their charge, and to secure commissions whenever possible. Drilling the volunteers was a rôle which suited them exactly, for they were used to it. The drill of "rats" was a pastime from which every upper classman had graduated with honors, and the "plebes" were overjoyed that their opportunity to engage in the sport had at last come. Many were the ludicrous sights witnessed at Camp Lee as the trim, sharp-voiced youngsters, perfectly drilled and disciplined themselves, trotted the surprised recruits, panting and weary, about the spacious drill-grounds of Camp Lee. Many were the poor country yokels, who, compelled to bathe and shear their hirsute badges of military dignity, rebelled in spirit, but obeyed the tyrannical striplings who lorded it over them, saying all the while among themselves, "Surely this is not war!"

But as the days wore on, and a semblance of discipline began to be detected among the volunteers,—then the true indications of the soldier in their improved carriage and drill,—there was less grumbling; and rapidly contempt was superseded by the highest respect for the gray-clad martinets from Lexington.

At first, the camp was intended for Virginia troops only; but the value of the system of instruction there in operation was so apparent to all, that it was made the rendezvous of troops from other states, as well. This increased the numbers so greatly that not only the new, but the old, Fair Grounds had to be utilized, and the Corps was taxed to the utmost in its special and important work.

The general health record of the Corps while in the Camp of Instruction was excellent; only three serious cases of illness occurring between April 23d and June 30th. Early in May an epidemic of laryngitis and opthalmia, and soon after of catarrh broke out among the volunteers, due to unfavorable weather conditions. Soon followed measles, diarrhœa, and dysentery, all of

which played havoc with the volunteer troops; but in the entire Corps but 9 cases of measles, 26 of diarrhœa, 5 of dysentery, and 26 of laryngitis and opthalmia occurred, facts which strikingly testify to the value of trained soldiers, always more or less exempt from the camp diseases which beset raw troops.

How fortunate was the South to possess such an asset as the Virginia Military Institute! Only a man of military experience can estimate the value of its services at this time. Yet, the historian has completely ignored its work, and has failed to grasp the real reasons for the initial success of the Confederate forces in Virginia. He has failed to perceive, in his scrutiny of the natural characteristics of the Southern volunteers, the real reason for their superiority over the men of the North in the early days of the war in Virginia. He has failed to detect, standing there all along the Confederate battle-line at Manassas, 500 trained young officers, and the 200 drill-masters of Camp Lee, who poured out from the embattled Barracks at Lexington, upon the first call to arms!

Nor was the Institute unduly favored by Governor Letcher in his appointments. It was not until the reorganization of the army, in the spring of 1862, that Institute men came to their own. Until that time, the higher grades had been very generally confined to retired officers of the Old Army, to those who resigned their commissions to join the Confederate arms, and to politicians. Thus, Institute men were at first overslaughed, irrespective of their abilities, except with respect to the number of commissions assigned them. Governor Letcher, in his report of June 17, 1861, to the Convention of Virginia, stated that over one-half of the recruiting officers and the junior officers were appointed from among the graduates of the Institute.*

The records also show that of the 56 regiments of Virginia Infantry and Heavy Artillery mustered into the service of the Confederate States of America, in

*Rebellion Records, Series IV, Vol. 1, p. 390.

1861, 20 were commanded by graduates of the Institute, and that two of the eight cavalry regiments were also commanded by former cadets. The number of lieutenant-colonels and majors were at this time out of all proportion to the number of regimental commanders, but as time wore on, they forged rapidly to the front. Thus, during the war, the Institute furnished the Confederacy 92 colonels, 64 lieutenant-colonels, 107 majors, 304 captains, and 221 lieutenants. It is estimated that at one time nearly two-thirds of the Army of Northern Virginia was officered by field-officers from the Institute.

During the months of May and June, and early July, many inspiring spectacles were witnessed by the cadets at Camp Lee, among which was the presentation of a new Confederate flag, made by the ladies of Richmond, to the 18th Virginia Regiment. There were many Old Cadets in this fine regiment, and the Corps, therefore, felt especial pride in its recognition by Mr. Davis.

"This flag," said he, "is our symbol of liberty, and on behalf of the ladies of the capital of our nation, I gave it into the hands that will proudly bear it to victory, and never let it trail in the dust."

The cadets had had occasion to see Mr. Davis before this, during the many visits which he made to the camp, attended by his brilliant staff; and, while they had felt the generally entertained respect for the President of the Confederacy, it was not until now that they were spell-bound by the power of the man. In the excitement of their work, they had found little time to dwell upon the virtues of the new nation; but Mr. Davis's speech aroused in them the greatest enthusiasm for the new flag, which for four long years they were to follow, and first made them realize they were soldiers of the new nation of which that flag was symbolic.

Other prominent statesmen visited the camp, and addressed the troops; among whom was the venerable John Tyler, veteran of 1812, former Governor of Virginia, and Ex-President of the United States. All

were optimistic of the outcome of the war and each added his coal of fire to the enthusiasm of the cadets.

The work of Instruction, in so far as the Corps was concerned, was wholly in the hands of Gilham, who had been promoted Colonel of the 21st Virginia Regiment late in April. Jackson only remained with the Corps a few days after its arrival in Richmond; for on April 26th, he was promoted Colonel of Virginia Volunteers, and immediately departed to take command of the force gathering at Harper's Ferry, while the Acting Commandant, Major Colston, was detailed in charge of the Camp of Instruction at Norfolk.

By the time Joseph E. Johnston had assembled the 2d Corps, or Army of the Shenandoah, in the Valley; Beauregard, the 1st Corps, or Army of the Potomac, at Manassas; and Magruder, the Army of the Peninsula, at Yorktown, there were few troops left at Camp Lee, and, therefore, few cadet drill-masters. The Corps had been practically dissolved by the appointment of cadets as officers, the attaching of those left to companies in the field, and the ordering of a few of the young men back to the Institute.

At the Institute work had been promptly resumed, as we have seen. Many of the cadets from distant States which had been left behind resigned, in order to return to their homes, and there join the army. A few returned from Richmond, and about 100 new cadets were admitted after the 1st of May. By the end of that month, there were over 100 cadets in Barracks, who were being thoroughly instructed in Field Fortifications, Artillery, and Infantry Tactics, and in the drill of all these branches.

During the summer of 1861, although the great bulk of the arms had been issued from the Arsenal at the Institute, there were 3,600 stand of muskets, 8 6-pound iron guns, 15,900 pounds of cannon, and 125 pounds of rifle powder, and 600 rounds of fixed ammunition for the cadet battery, including round shot and canister, while the employees of the Institute, under the direction

of the Quartermaster, turned out 10,000 small arms cartridges per day for the use of the army.

Early in June, it was rumored that a raiding party of Federal Cavalry was approaching Lexington, with the intention of destroying the Institute and the Arsenal. The report was absurd, and, though not credited, Major Preston, Acting Superintendent, took the precaution of providing for the defense of the Institute. Ten rounds of ammunition were issued each cadet; an artillery detachment was designated and placed under Lieutenant Hunter, Class of 1861. Major Crutchfield was directed to move out and meet the enemy with an infantry detachment composed of half of the cadets, and Captain Hardin, to defend Barracks with those remaining. Lieutenant Morgan was assigned to duty with the "Liberty Hall" Volunteers, Lieutenant Ross with Captain Gatman's local company, and Lieutenant Smith and Lynch, and Surgeon Meade, to the staff of the Acting Superintendent, the last being directed to prepare the Hospital to receive the wounded!

Needless to add, nothing came of this wild rumor, for there was no enemy within reach of Lexington, at this time. The incident is narrated, however, as one of many, to illustrate the state of mind of the cadets, from first to last. The wonder is that any remained; and none would have done so had parental orders not compelled them to forego the field of glory.

Another incident which created a marked impression upon the young soldiers, was the announcement in May of the death of Captain John Q. Marr. Entering the military service in April, he was killed while gallantly defending an outpost at Fairfax Courthouse, June 1, 1861, and shed "the first blood of the war," according to the report of the Adjutant-General of Virginia.

Thus, was the seriousness of the war brought home to the cadets, further adding to their restlessness and longing to take the field.

Thursday, June 18th, was appointed a day of national fasting and humiliation by the proclamation of Presi-

dent Davis, and, accordingly, all duties at the Institute were suspended by Major Preston who in orders paid the tribute of the Virginia Military Institute to the memory of Captain Marr, in these words:

"The Acting Superintendent takes this occasion to announce officially the death of Captain J. Q. Marr, of Fauquier County. He was one of the oldest Alumni of the Institute, having graduated in 1846, the second distinguished graduate of his class. He devoted his talents to the pursuits of civil life, and held important and influential offices in his county. At the first call of his county for his services as a soldier, he seized the arms whose use he had laid aside but not forgotten. He was offered a commission as Lieutenant-Colonel, but he chose to head the company he had raised. The enemy made a sudden attack upon the post where he was stationed, and he immediately exposed himself, regardless of danger, to the fire of the foe, when he was pierced to the heart by an ill-fated ball.

"The Institute with pride has beheld the graduates hastening to arms in order to redeem the pledge of fidelity to Virginia, that makes the motto upon the flag of the Corps. To the Institute, too, has been accorded the sad, yet honorable, distinction, that the first officer who has laid down his life on the altar of his country has had his name recorded on our Register with distinction. Such examples serve their noble purpose when they stimulate to imitation. Such imitation is the noblest tribute we can pay to the brave dead."

In the latter part of June, it was announced that Colonel Smith proposed to raise a regiment for the field during the summer, and that graduates, ex-cadets, and such cadets as were permitted by their parents to join the army, would be welcomed by him as officers—an invitation which many accepted.

The work of the Institute was not suspended until July 18th. Notice had been given the Acting Superintendent by the professors and assistant professors, who had been all the spring and summer laboriously dis-

charging the new duties which had devolved upon them, that after the 1st of July, the date on which the academic year terminated, they would tender their services to the governor for active and permanent service in the field. Great credit is due Major Preston, who had returned from Harper's Ferry where he might have remained on Jackson's staff, and to Major Crutchfield and Captain Hardin, for their unselfish labors up to this time. The two last, without the advantages of text-books, had prepared a course of lectures in the various branches, of the military art. Lieutenants Ross, Morgan, Lynch, Hunter, and Smith, had also rendered valuable aid as tactical officers. But they could no longer be restrained, and although there were 100 cadets present for duty, a number of candidates present and applying for admission, and yet others on the way to enter, there was no other alternative than to decline to receive new cadets, to accept the resignation of all those recently admitted, and to place the others on furlough until September 1st.

Now, let us see what became of the officers of the Institute.

The Superintendent, after the dissolution of the Council of State, July 16th, was assigned to duty as Colonel of the 9th Virginia Regiment, Heavy Artillery, in command of the Craney Island defenses in Norfolk Harbor. The Commandant had been promoted Colonel, 21st Virginia Infantry, and was now preparing to join his command in the Valley. Major Jackson had been appointed Colonel of Volunteers April 26th, assigned to the command of the troops at Harper's Ferry, and promoted Brigadier-General June 17th. Major Williamson had been assigned to duty in April, as Major of the Corps of Engineers, under his academic commission, and had since been busily engaged fortifying the line of the Rappahannock, and, later on, the defenses near Manassas Junction, having been promoted Lieutenant-Colonel of Engineers in early July. Major Colston had been promoted Colonel of the 16th Virginia

Infantry, and assigned to the command of the Camp of Instruction at Norfolk. Dr. R. L. Madison, Surgeon, had been placed on duty as Medical Director of Camp Lee. Captain McCausland, upon the special request of the people of the Kanawha Section, had been appointed Lieutenant-Colonel 35th Virginia Infantry, and assigned to duty in the West. Lieutenants Shipp, Cunningham, and McDonald, had been appointed Captains in the Provisional Army, and assigned to special duties —the first, under the orders of Colonel Gilham, as Assistant Adjutant-General—the others under Jackson at Harper's Ferry, Captain Cunningham, on engineer duty, and Captain McDonald, as Assistant Inspector-General. Before the end of the summer, Shipp became Major of the 21st Virginia of which Gilham was the Colonel. Lieutenant Semmes was retained at the Camp of Instruction as Acting Commandant, upon the relief of Colonel Colston.

After being relieved of duty at the Institute, Majors Preston and Crutchfield were appointed Lieutenant-Colonel and Major 9th Virginia Regiment, respectively, Colonel Smith commanding, and repaired to Craney Island. In October, however, Preston rejoined Jackson's staff as Assistant Adjutant-General, Army of the Valley, and soon Crutchfield, longing for active service, transferred to the 58th Virginia Infantry, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and was ordered to West Virginia, where he served under General Lee. During the fall he was tendered the colonelcy of the 16th Virginia, but ill-health forced him to decline the promotion.*

Captain M. B. Hardin, like Crutchfield, was also appointed Major in the 9th Virginia Regiment, upon leaving Lexington; Lieutenant J. D. H. Ross, Major, later Lieutenant-Colonel 52d Virginia Infantry; Lieutenant W. H. Morgan, Adjutant 21st Virginia Infantry, later Captain and killed; and Lieutenant O. C.

*In the spring of 1862, he became Jackson's Chief of Artillery (Vice-Major Daniel Trueheart), with the rank of Colonel of Artillery; was wounded at Chancellorsville, and killed at Sailor's Creek in April, 1865, after most heroic and efficient service throughout the war.

Henderson, First-Lieutenant, later Captain 1st Battalion Virginia Infantry.

Rodes, who had never served at the Institute as a full professor, had, meantime, become Colonel of the 5th Alabama, later Major-General, and was killed.

Captain John T. Gibbs was placed in command of the "Rockbridge Greys," and alone remained in charge of the Institute. Thus, it is seen, that every officer of the Institute had entered the service, and that, by the middle of the summer, the faculty and the Corps had dissolved.

Far off in the hills of Rockbridge, the great Cadet Barracks,* tenanted only by a few members of the militia, stood silent and all but deserted during the fall and winter of 1861, a mournful reminder of the gallant band which had poured forth from its grim portals, apppealing, in its abandoned aspect, to the poetess who wrote:

"They are gone! they are gone! Never more shall they come
With no gap in their ranks to this dearly loved home;
They are gone! they are gone! from depression upspringing,
Its bold onward flight the young spirit is wringing.
In memory still lingers the touching refrain,
Of exulting farewell, spoken once and again.

"Still, I see the light form—the flushed cheek—the quick eye,
Still, I hear the firm tread, as 'boy heroes' sweep by;
But the mantle of evening from daylight is won,
And the Mother's worn heart looks in vain for her son.
Alas! for the eyes that have scarce known a tear!
Alas! for the hopes that were safe garnered here!

"They are gone! they are gone! From terrace and hill,
Of the light springing footsteps, the echo is still.
The rich music of youth's wild exuberance is gone;
Through this midnight of sorrow, we watch all alone
In a sickness of heart that sees nought in their path
But the Great Reaper's Sickle, the harvest of Death!
This is feeble distrust. It is cowardly fear
To linger thus idly, when danger is near.
Arise—break its shackles—look out from this gloom,
To thy work bravely done will the Comforter come.

*Occupied by the Rockbridge Greys, upon the departure of the Corps of Cadets, as a guard for the Arsenal, in which much Ordnance material was stored. See Rebellion Rec., Series IV, Vol. 1, pp. 387-388.

"Did the sun's rosy light o'er the Blue Ridge this morning
Kiss the high mountain peaks? I know not, for this warning
Note eagerly longed for, prevented the day,
And the hours, unchronicled, glided away.
All to *one* paying tribute. Well each cadet knew
To the stroke of the clock, the command would be true;
Major Jackson in charge, he would linger for none,
And he still would move on, did he move on alone.

"With Love, holiest cares, as her purpose fulfilling,
Another's burdens to lighten, the heart is made willing;
Thus to lighten its own, each moment passed on,
Smiles brightening to tears—then, in tears, the smiles gone.
Fair young fingers were busy—on many a fair face,
This April of Sunshine and Showers you might trace;
While gay words of greeting were followed as soon,
By some errand accepted, as quickly as known.

"Hark! the roll of the drum. It has called them to prayer,
And each uncovered head bows in reverence there.
Through the Barracks is hushed all the vexed strife of earth,
As the servant of God breathes falteringly forth
In grief-stricken accents, but firm, trusting faith,
A prayer for His presence in danger and death.
Let them only be Thine, then must suffering be
The path Thou hast chosen to lead them to Thee!
The silence is broken—a quick rush of feet,—
Each one takes his place, and the ranks are complete.
A stroke of the clock—the Battalion moves on—
A dull, measured tramp—a last look—they are gone!"*

*By Mrs. Francis H. Smith.

CHAPTER X

JACKSON AT HARPER'S FERRY AND MANASSAS

WE have seen that Major Jackson's preferment was attributed by jealous civilians, seeking their own selfish interests, to the undue influence of the Virginia Military Institute. His connection with the army, and his service in Mexico seemed to have passed from the memory of everybody but his intimate friends.*

The following account of Jackson's arrival at Harper's Ferry, where he arrived and took command May 3, 1861, is given by General John D. Imboden, at that time Captain of the Staunton Battery:

"When I arrived in Richmond, General Robert E. Lee had been placed in command of all the Virginia forces by the Governor, and by an ordinance every militia officer in the State, above the rank of Captain, had been decapitated, and the Governor and his Military Council had been authorized to fill the vacancies thus created. This was a disastrous blow to the 'pomp and circumstance of glorious war' at Harper's Ferry. Militia generals, and the brilliant 'staff' were stricken down, and their functions devolved, according to Governor Letcher's order, upon Thomas J. Jackson, Colonel Commandant, and James W. Massie, Major and Assistant Adjutant-General, who arrived during the first week of May.

"This was Stonewall Jackson's first appearance on the theatre of war. I spent one day and night in Richmond, and then returned to camp, arriving about 2 P. M. What a revolution three or four days had wrought! I could scarcely realize the change. The militia generals were all gone, and the staff had vanished. The commanding colonel and his adjutant had arrived, and were occupying a small room in the little wayside hotel near the railroad bridge.

*Military Biography of Stonewall Jackson, Jones, p. 36. The following letter from Major Preston, who had been ordered to Richmond, is interesting at this point:

"I got here safely. As I anticipated, the Colonel wanted to consult me with regard to matters connected with the Institute, and the organization of the military forces of the region roundabout. Colonel Smith is occupying here a very important and laborous position and is acquiring a very enviable reputation for the value of his services. The general idea of the movements is, I think, based upon the purpose of avoiding civil war, but to be prepared thoroughly for every emergency. Jackson, with the rank of colonel, goes to supersede General Harper at Harper's Ferry. It is most flattering to him. Say to his wife that it is the command of all others which he would most prefer. He is a noble fellow, and I rejoice in his success."

Knowing them both, I immediately sought an interview and delivered a letter and some papers I had brought from General Lee. Jackson and his Adjutant were at a little pine table, figuring upon the rolls of the troops present. They were dressed in well-worn, dingy uniforms of professors in the Virginia Military Institute, where both had recently occupied chairs. Colonel Jackson had issued, and sent to the camp, a short, simple order assuming the command, but had had no intercourse with the troops. The deposed officers had nearly all left for home, or for Richmond, in a high state of indignation. After an interview of perhaps a half hour, I proceeded to my camp on the hill, and found the men of the 5th Virginia regiment in assembly, and greatly excited. They were deeply attached to their field-officers, and regarded the ordinance of the Convention as an outrage on freemen and volunteers; and were discussing the propriety of passing denunciatory resolutions. On seeing me, they called for a speech. As I did not belong to the regiment, I declined to say anything, but ordered the men of the Staunton Artillery to fall into line. Then I briefly told them that we were required to muster into the service either for twelve months, or during the war, at our option, and urged them to go in for the full period of the war, as such action would be most creditable to them, and a good example to others. They unanimously shouted, 'For the war! For the war!' Before they were dismissed, the ceremony of mustering in was complete, and I proudly took the roll to Colonel Jackson with the remark, 'There, Colonel, is the roll of your first company mustered in for the war.' He looked it over, and, rising, shook my hand, saying, 'Thank you, Captain; thank you, and please thank your men for me.' He had heard that there was dissatisfaction in the camps, and asked me to act as mustering-officer for the two other artillery companies present. Before sunset the rolls were returned. This prompt action of the batteries was emulated, the next day, by the other troops, and all were mustered in."*

An army correspondent of one of the Southern papers has left us a personal sketch of Colonel Jackson, at this time. It clearly indicates the general impression of the hour, and, furthermore, portrays Jackson as he was recalled by more than one cadet:

"The queer appearance of the ex-Professor on the field excited great merriment in this writer. The Old Dominion must be woefully deficient in military men, he thought, if this was the best she could do. To him the new colonel was not at all like a commanding officer. There was a painful want in him of all the 'pride,

*Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, Vol. 1, pp. 120-121.

pomp, and circumstance of glorious war.' His dress was no better than a private soldier's, and there was not a particle of gold lace about his uniform. His air was abstracted; his bearing stiff and awkward; he kept his own counsels; never consulted with his officers, and had very little to say to anybody. On horseback his appearance was even less impressive. Other officers, at that early stage of the war, when the fondness for military insignia and display was greater than afterwards, and before the blockade had cut off the supply of gewgaws and decorations, made their appearance before their troops on prancing horses, with splendid trappings, and seemed desirous of showing the admiring spectators how gracefully they could sit in the saddle. The new colonel was a strong contrast to all this. He rode an old horse which seemed to have little of the romance of war about him, and nothing at all fine in his equipment. His seat in the saddle was far from graceful; he leaned forward awkwardly; settled his chin from time to time in his lofty military stock, and looked from side to side, from beneath the low rim of his cadet cap, in a manner which the risible faculties of the correspondent could not resist. A queerer figure, and one which answered less to the idea of military grace, had never before dawned on the attention of the literary gentleman who sketched it for the amusement of the Southern reader."

Among the first steps taken by Colonel Jackson for the organization of his command, was the selection of Major James W. Massie, V. M. I., 1847, who had served under him as a tactical officer at the Institute, as his Inspector-General; his old associate in the faculty, John Thomas Lewis Preston, as his Acting Assistant Adjutant-General; and Captain Marshall McDonald and Edward Cunningham, Assistant Professors, as his Assistant Inspector-General and Engineer Officer, respectively, while Dr. Graham of Lexington, formerly Surgeon of the Institute, became his Chief Surgeon. Major Preston, who had been ordered to Richmond to confer with the Superintendent, repaired at once to Harper's Ferry, but was recalled to the Institute late in May.*

*The following extracts from the correspondence of Major Preston with his wife illustrates the work of the Institute in the organization of Jackson's command:

May 9th, 1861. "While Massie is gone to Richmond with dispatches, I take as much of Jackson's responsibility as I choose. Colonels, captains, and officials of all ranks come to me for orders, for leave of absence, for directions, for privileges, for information. It is precisely, so far as I am concerned, like the Superintendency of the Institute, and it is my practice in that sort of work that gives me here more efficiency than men of more ability and more experience. It is astonishing to see how the Institute tells

BRIGADIER-GENERAL THOMAS HOOMES WILLIAMSON

COMMANDANT OF CADETS 1841-1846
PROFESSOR 1841-1888

April 22d, an order had been received at the Institute from General Harper at Harper's Ferry, to forward 10,000 muskets from the Arsenal for issue, to his command, and Captain Updike was directed to detail 25 of his men as an escort, under the command of Lieutenant Shipp. Lieutenant Shipp, however, proceeded no further with the escort than Staunton, at which point he received orders to proceed to Richmond, where he was assigned to duty with rank of Captain under Colonel Gilham as Assistant Adjutant-General in the Camp of Instruction. The same day, Lieutenant J. D. H. Ross was detailed with ten cadets to escort an ammunition train to Harper's Ferry. These cadets, Wight, Holt, Norris, Hempstead, Burruss, Burk T., Lee W., Turner S., Savage and Taylor M., were retained by Colonel Jackson at Harper's Ferry as drill-masters. Jackson had been at Camp Lee long enough to witness the immediate results obtained there by the cadets in charge of the instruction of the volunteers. His next step was to place Major Daniel Trueheart, formerly his assistant at the Institute, in charge of the organization of his artillery; and, assisted by officers in whom he reposed confidence born of previous association, he undertook the work of hammering his command into shape.

Meantime, the Rev. William Nelson Pendleton, of Lexington, had been elected Captain of the Rockbridge Artillery, a battery which had been organized in Lexington and drilled by Captain John McCausland, of the Institute Sub-Faculty, until he was promoted lieutenant-colonel of the 36th Virginia Regiment, and ordered to northwest Virginia. Knowing the caliber of his old friend, Colonel Jackson requested that the Rock-

just now. Every man from the oldest to the youngest, who has been connected with it, is looked to for extra service. When Massie is here I do some of the same sort of thing, but mainly I write letters for Jackson and advise him as far as I am able."

May 12th, 1861. "I did not know before how well I could get through work which is new to me, nor did I know how much technical acquaintance with military matters I had absorbed by my life-long connection with the Institute. At all events, I have been a week, since Massie's absence, acting as chief aid, settling all manner of questions for colonels, majors, captains, and sometimes when Jackson was absent looking after his fortifications, acting as commander-in-chief."

bridge Artillery be assigned to his command, which was done; and, with two of the cadet brass 6-pounders, and ammunition chests mounted on the bodies of hay wagons, the battery marched to Staunton on May 11th, arriving at Harper's Ferry four days later.*

Jackson's command was fast rounding into shape. As early as May 8th, he wrote his wife, "Colonels Massie and Preston have been of great service to me. Humanly speaking, I don't see how I could have accomplished the amount of work I have done without them."

The press now began to change its view about the odd-looking colonel, and we read:

"The commanding officer at Harper's Ferry is worthy of the name he bears, for 'Old Hickory' himself was not a more determined, iron-nerved man than he. Born in Virginia, educated at West Point, trained in the Mexican War, occupied since at the pet military Institution of the Old Dominion, his whole life has been a preparation for this struggle."

On the 23d of May, Colonel Joseph E. Johnston arrived at Harper's Ferry and superseded Jackson in command. The troops were almost immediately organized into brigades, according to States. Colonel Jackson was assigned to the command of the first, or, strictly, Virginia brigade, composed of the 2d Virginia, Colonel James W. Allen; 4th Virginia, Colonel J. F. Preston; 5th Virginia, Colonel Kenton Harper; 27th Virginia, Lieutenant-Colonel, John Echols; 33d Virginia, Colonel A. C. Cummings. Colonels Allen, Echols, and Cummings were graduates of the Institute, of the Classes of '49, '43 and '44, respectively.

When, on the 15th of June, Johnston withdrew from Harper's Ferry to Winchester, he left Colonel Jackson with his brigade at the front along the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, to observe General Patterson's preparations.

On the 2d of July, 1861, Colonel Jackson detected a movement on the part of the Federals, and desiring

*Memoirs of William Nelson Pendleton, Lee, pp. 140-144.

to develop the intentions of the enemy directed Captain Pendleton to move forward the Rockbridge Battery, and, supported by the 5th Virginia, to open fire. Besides the two brass cadet 6-pounders, the battery now had two iron pieces. Three of the guns were held in the rear, and one of the cadet pieces only placed in action, about three miles from the camp. Upon discovering Pendleton's gun, the enemy's artillery opened a brisk fire, but gunner David E. Moore, Jr., of Lexington, carefully laid his piece under the directions of the battery commander, and fired at a squadron of cavalry about 800 yards distant. The first shot dispersed the troopers, the second disabled a gun. But eight shots in all were fired before the enemy retired, leaving 55 prisoners in the hands of Colonel J. E. B. Stuart's Cavalry.

This affair, called Hainesville, or Falling Waters, which occurred near Martinsburg, Virginia, was the first in which the troops under Jackson were engaged, and is notable in connection with the Institute inasmuch as David Moore, of Lexington, fired the first hostile cannon shot in Jackson's army, with one of the guns of the cadet battery.*

July 6th, Jackson received his commission as Brigadier-General, dated June 17, 1861. His promotion was confirmed August 28th, following.

Captain Pendleton had been three years at West Point with Generals Johnston and Lee, and two years with Mr. Davis. On July 13, 1861, the President in writing to General Johnston, after hearing of the affair of the 2d of July, said:

"I recollect Captain Pendleton well, and, when we were all younger, esteemed him highly as a soldier and a gentleman. I, some days since, directed that he should have rank as a Colonel, and be put in command of the batteries of your army."**

*Memoirs of William Nelson Pendleton, Lee, pp. 145-146.
The Story of a Cannoneer under Stonewall Jackson, Moore, p. 25.
In this work the picture of the gun and the gunner may be seen.
In 1914, David E. Moore is Commonwealth Attorney in Lexington.
**Rebellion Records, Series I, Vol. II, p. 977.

Thus, both the first and second commanders of the guns which President Zachary Taylor presented the Corps of Cadets were not only present when they fired their first hostile shots, but both received their promotions almost simultaneously after the affair in which they were engaged, that being the prelude to Manassas. Colonel Pendleton later became Brigadier-General and Chief of Artillery, Army of Northern Virginia.*

July 21, 1861, the great battle of First Manassas, or Bull Run, was fought. We can not here give the details of that battle, in which Brigadier-General Thomas Jonathan Jackson received from the lips of Bee the immortal sobriquet of "Stonewall" as he stood among the old cadet guns, which for ten long years he had commanded at the Institute.

*The junior Lieutenant of the Rockbridge Artillery at Hainesville, William T. Poague, became Captain of the battery in 1862, Major of Artillery in 1863, Lieutenant-Colonel 1864, and has, for the past thirty years, been Treasurer of the Virginia Military Institute. He was designated by General Lee to lead the retreat to Appomattox in 1865.

CHAPTER XI

CADETS AT MANASSAS—IN MEMORIAM

ON pages 117 and 118, of the current catalogue of the Virginia Military Institute, one finds the following:

C. W. Moore, Virginia, 1861, C. S. A., Cadet, killed First Manassas.

S. R. Norris, Virginia, 1861, C. S. A., killed First Manassas.

J. S. Moffett, Virginia, 1861, C. S. A., Cadet, killed First Manassas.

That is all the official record contains concerning these youthful soldiers, and for over half a century in the memorial of our New Market dead, we have forgotten that there were others who met their death while wearing the cadet coatee.*

The names of Moore, Moffett and Norris, while hitherto obscure, should be stamped upon the very heart of every V. M. I. cadet, and emblazoned in enduring form upon the highest pinnacles of Fame.

How came they to offer up their sacrifice to the Southern cause? Who were they, and whence did they hail—these all but forgotten heroes?

It was in the late summer of 1860, when Charlie Moore, Johnnie Moffett, and Charlie Norris passed through the sally-port of Barracks and became cadets at the Virginia Military Institute. Moore and Moffett were eighteen years old; Norris was two years their junior. They came from Abingdon, Virginia, Rockbridge County, Virginia, and Leesburg, Virginia, respectively, sent to the Institute by loving parents to be trained for their part in the dreaded future.

*There were 19 cadets killed in battle on various fields during the war.

Already the omen of war had cast its shadow over the Southland, and in the souls of strong men were gloomy presages of inevitable tragedy. Then, as now, the lilting air of youth, the echo of exuberant spirits, rang through the martial halls; but in the still hours of night when men are wont to ponder the serious things of life, not even these youths could fail to discern the ever-darkening cloud which gathered in the North. No ears could fail to hear the rumbling of the approaching storm.

Here were soldiers then who knew war—the veterans of Cerro Gordo, of Palto Alto, of Monterey and Chapultepec, who, while they quailed, but steeled their hearts and labored with unceasing energy to meet the crisis. The genius of Gilham shone the brighter, and the determination of Jackson seemed the more inexorable, in their stern resolve to serve Virginia—to serve her by inculcating in a thousand youthful breasts a mature sense of duty.

It was within the year these three young men spent here that the Corps was electrified by those flashes from the soul of Jackson. They beheld him in their midst, standing erect, and radiant with high purpose, prepared to face the future. They heard him say in tones of heartrent anguish, when asked if he desired war, "Sir, as a Christian I will deprecate the advent of fratricidal strife, but as a soldier, sir, I will welcome war." Then, they heard him cry with clear and ringing accent, "It is time for Virginia to draw the sword and throw away the scabbard."

Such, were the leaders in those days; and, so, it was natural that when the tide of invasion swept up against the bulwarks of Virginia, not only Smith, the Superintendent, Gilham, the Commandant, Jackson, Crutchfield, Rodes, Colston, Preston, Williamson, McCausland, and Shipp, the Professors, but that the entire Corps, should rush to the defense of Virginia.

It was a glorious Sunday morning in April when Major Jackson marched the Battalion of Cadets from

Lexington to Staunton, *en route* to Richmond, where its members were to serve as drill-masters in the Camp of Instruction. He left in no haste. His orders were to move at 12:30 P. M. The impatient cadets chafed as they stood in ranks awaiting the appointed time until which the command was not given.

About fifty of the younger cadets were ordered to remain as a guard for the Institute, and among those was Norris. In strange contrast was the elation of those who wound their way behind "Old Jack" over the blue hills, to the disappointment of the faithful few who watched the gallant Corps disappear in the haze of distance. It was at this very moment, alone perhaps in the very highest tower of Barracks, that little Norris felt the realization of the word "Duty" in its highest sense. Can we doubt that in this hour of sorest trial, as he strained his eyes to catch the last glint of the vanishing column, he wiped away the bitter tears that welled unbidden from his heart, and said "It is braver to remain than to go."

As it always does, the conscious performance of duty brought to Charlie Norris his reward, for but a few days passed until he and nine other cadets were ordered to escort the powder train from the Institute to Harper's Ferry; and upon reporting, they found not Major Jackson of old, but Colonel Jackson in command of the volunteer army there assembled, who assigned them to different commands as drill-masters. Like Moore and Moffett in Richmond, Norris now devoted all his energies to the work in hand, conscious that the eye of "Old Jack" was upon him.

Soon, Beauregard began to assemble his army. The First Corps, or Army of the Potomac, at Manassas, and Joseph E. Johnston took command of the Second Corps, or Army of the Shenandoah, in the Valley.

The undisciplined recruits were quickly rounded into shape, and in this work nearly 200 cadets labored night and day. Fortunate, indeed, was the South that such hands were available to mould the weapon of its first de-

fense. Now, was the value of the Institute appreciated by all, both friend and foe. Now, the service which Smith and Gilham and Jackson had rendered, their people well understood. Was it not Lincoln, himself, who, it has been said, replied, when asked by an impatient politician, why he did not crush the Confederate Army at once: "It might be done, were it not for a certain Military School they have, which supplies them with trained officers."* But whether he ever made such a remark or not, well might he have done so, for the full import of Lincoln's supposed remark is appreciated, if it be recalled that among the *élèves* of the Virginia Military Institute, in the Confederate States Armies, were 20 general officers, nearly 300 field officers, and more than 500 of lower rank, including many of the most responsible staff officers in the service.

Verily, those were the days that tried men's souls and made strong men of boys. Indeed, our great national struggle was a war between boys. Statistics show us that the average age of the 2,400,000 or more enlisted men in the Northern Armies was but twenty years, upon their entrance into the service. But while there were thousands of youthful soldiers in this war, few rendered their flag the service which the cadets performed in the spring and summer of 1861. Historians in analyzing the cause of Confederate success at First Manassas, seem to have utterly neglected one of its prime factors. They do not see standing there in front of the Southern troops, several hundred drill-masters suddenly become leaders, and reflecting the very spirit, embodying the very soul, that won for "Stonewall Jackson," on that day, his immortal sobriquet. Thus, in such ignorance, is history written.

The subjects of our sketch were but three of several hundred cadets who found their way to the momentous field of Manassas; but most of these had already won commissions in the army, and had changed the natty

*I can find no real authority for this remark, though Lincoln frequently declared that the Federal troops were not fighting raw militia but troops disciplined by highly trained officers.

coatee for the long frock coat of a Confederate officer. The Corps which left Lexington in April had dissolved, ere McDowell crossed the Potomac, but there were still some of its members serving in their original capacity as drill-masters at Richmond, Harper's Ferry, and with Beauregard, at Manassas. Such was the case with Moore, Moffett, and Norris.

On the memorable morning of July 21, 1861, swept on by the ardour of youth, Moffett and Moore entered the fight, with the first sound of battle, as volunteer captains of the companies they had drilled so faithfully. And not far off was little Norris hastening from the Valley with Johnston's troops. He had watched his older comrades with envy when they left him in the Barracks; but no longer was he the immature lad of Lexington. A soldier's responsibilities now rested on his shoulders as he sped over the roads with Jackson and his men, to the aid of Beauregard. While spurring on the men of his company, with which he had toiled, and over which he was now in command, in the absence of his captain, he was no doubt thinking of his cadet friends at Manassas, and chafing lest he should be too late to join them in battle.

At last, the grey canopy of smoke marked for his eyes the fretted field. A few minutes more, and he had entered the conflict. Some strange power carried him on with a speed and endurance unknown to him before; and, rushing forward at the head of his men, he was soon face to face with Ricketts' guns, in the blast of which Moore and Moffett had already fallen. "Come on, boys, quick, and we can whip them!" he shrilly cried, and these words just uttered, he sank to the earth to rise no more.*

The horrors of that day all know. Nor was the sacrifice vain, for Manassas gave to the world "Stonewall"

*NOTE—Captain Robert McCulloch, of St. Louis, V. M. I., '61, the friend and comrade of Moore, Moffett, and Norris, also served at First Manassas as a volunteer cadet captain. Though wounded, he continued to serve with such conspicuous gallantry that he was promoted immediately after the battle to regular rank, finally reaching the grade of Captain. Learning of Moore's death, he sought out his body after the fighting ceased, buried it, marked the grave, and thus enabled Mrs. Moore to recover the remains of her son.

Jackson, one whose memory will inspire humanity with noble impulses as long as the brave worship at the altar of Christianity. His idealized figure alone the whole world now sees standing there amid the belching guns, as Bee and Bartow saw it in reality, ere they fell. But the mist of time has obscured from our eyes the dreader scenes of that day. There, upon the field, when the smoke of battle had mingled with the dark clouds, when the roar of the conflict had died away, lay the rigid forms of three soldier lads. Each marked the far advance of the battle line. In the gray coatee of each was found the rent through which a soul ascended to await the coming of the leader to whose glory they had contributed so much of blood and valour. Let belated fame with her light now search the stricken field and cast her discerning rays upon their pallid cheeks, and somewhere on the pages of her undying record inscribe the names of *Moore, Moffett,* and *Norris.*

CHAPTER XII

THE WEST POINT OF THE CONFEDERACY

APRIL 29, 1861, Jefferson Davis, President of the newly-formed Confederacy, addressed an interesting report to the Confederate Congress, detailing at length the executive measures up to that time, and offering many valuable recommendations. The former Secretary of War of the United States, thoroughly conversant with all matters pertaining to army organization, wrote:

"To secure a thorough military education, it is deemed essential that officers should enter upon the study of their profession at an early period of life, and have elementary instruction in a military school. Until such school shall be established, it is recommended that cadets be appointed and attached to companies until they shall have attained the age, and have acquired the knowledge, to fit them for the duties of lieutenants."*

Pursuant to this wise recommendation, the Act of Congress providing for the increase of the military establishment of the Confederate States, amending the original Act creating the army, and approved May 16th, included the following section:

"Section 8. That until a military school shall be established for the elementary instruction of officers for the Army, the President shall be authorized to appoint cadets from the several States in number proportionate to their representation in the House of Representatives, and ten, in addition, to be selected by him at large from the Confederate States, who shall be attached to companies in service in any branch of the Army as supernumerary officers, with the rank of 'Cadet,' who shall receive the monthly pay of $40.00, and be competent for promotion at such time, and under such regulations, as may be prescribed by the President, or hereafter established by law."**

*Rebellion Records, Series IV, Vol. I, p. 267.
**Ibid., p. 327.

From this measure it is clearly seen that at the outset the Confederate Congress contemplated the establishment of a military academy for the education of its officers. But upon discovering that such an institution was already available, inasmuch as Virginia, which possessed a School of Arms, second only to West Point, had joined the Confederacy April 17th, the necessity of creating another School at great expense no longer existed.

Upon the joint recommendation of Governor Letcher and President Davis, the Confederate Congress, early in the fall of 1861, ordered the Board of Visitors of the Virginia Military Institute to reopen the School, January 1, 1862, and put into full operation the regular exercises which had been suspended since July 18th, preceding, when the Corps was furloughed. During the summer it had been announced that the Institute would not be reopened in the fall, as previously stated.

Colonel Smith, strange to say, vigorously opposed the reopening of the School. He argued that the restlessness of the cadets, the impossibility of securing adequate supplies of provisions, clothing, fuel, books, etc., etc., was a difficulty which would increase as the war progressed. But the authorities insisted that the Institute was a necessity, and, that the Confederacy was compelled to depend upon it to a great extent for its future supply of officers.

Accordingly, the Board of Visitors met on the second Tuesday in September, and took steps to assemble the faculty, the members of which were widely scattered, and all serving as officers in the army. Among the responses to the call of the Board, the following letter was received from the Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy:

"HEADQUARTERS FIRST BRIGADE, 2D CORPS, A. P.,
"CENTREVILLE, October 22, 1861.

"GENTLEMEN—Your circular of the 9th inst. has been received, and I beg leave to say, in reply, that I only took the field from a sense of duty, and that the obligation that brought me into the

service still retains me in it, and will probably continue to do so as long as the war shall last. At the close of hostilities, I desire to resume the duties of my chair, and, accordingly, respectfully request that, if consistent with the interest of the Institute, the action of the Board of Visitors may be such as to admit of my return, upon the restoration of peace.

"Respectfully, your obedient servant,

"T. J. JACKSON,

"Prof. Nat. and Ex. Philosophy, V. M. I.

"To

"General Wm. H. Richardson,

"General T. H. Haymond,

"Committee."

Having been overruled, Colonel Smith, the Superintendent, now set himself about the task of reorganizing the School, with his usual energy. Under date of November 23d, 1861, from his post at Craney Island, in Norfolk Harbor, where he was in command of the Artillery defenses, Colonel Smith addressed a letter to the Adjutant-General of Virginia, from which the following is an extract:

"I am anxious that the Board shall settle the question, as far as they can do it, with regard to the connection of the Institute with the Southern Confederacy. I think that all that is valuable in the art of war may be secured by having an understanding with the Confederate Government that at each annual examination the Secretary of War shall notify the Board of Visitors of the number of officers required for the military service, then send a board of examiners, to meet when the Board is in session, that they may examine the graduating classes, and report to the President the names of such as are recommended for commissions in the Army, the arm of service for which they are fitted, etc. This would give the Government all the advantage it might require of the School."

General Richardson at once forwarded this letter to the Secretary of War, stating that the Institute would be reopened January 1st, that the Board desired to make the School subserve the interests of the service in every way possible, and requesting suggestions and coöperation from the President and the War Department.*

*Rebellion Records, Series IV, Vol. I, p. 537.

At its fall meeting, the Board had elected Major Scott Shipp, V. M. I., 1859, 21st Virginia Regiment, Commandant of Cadets. Major Shipp had served since graduation, it will be recalled, as an assistant professor. The change was a welcome one to Colonel Gilham, who, as we have seen, had expected in 1860 to be relieved in order that he might devote his undivided attention to his academic department. His return to the Institute was not, therefore, opposed to his inclinations, inasmuch as he was still deeply interested in scientific research.

Major Shipp was on sick leave at the time he received his orders to return, and did so, much against his will. He had served with credit in the West Virginia campaign, was ambitious, and preferred active service in the field with his regiment, to a less stirring, if more useful, career at the Institute. But those familiar with his eminent qualifications for the important office of Commandant of Cadets urged upon him the view that in no way could an officer better serve his country than in the position offered him, pointing out the great possibilities of the office at a time when the cry for trained officers in the lower grades was growing louder and louder every day. Yielding to the urgent representations of his friends, Major Shipp finally accepted the office which he filled with distinguished ability for twenty-eight years.

When the reorganization of the army occurred in April, 1862, Lieutenant-Colonel John M. Patton, Jr., V. M. I., 1846, succeeded Colonel Gilham in command of the 21st Virginia Regiment, and Major Scott Shipp was elected Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment (*vice* Patton promoted); but Shipp lost his commission in a most unusual way, for after he was elected Lieutenant-Colonel of the 21st Virginia, Captain Morgan, the adjutant, had his office declared vacant on the ground that he could not leave the Institute, an action entirely unauthorized by Shipp.

At the outbreak of the war, there were numerous military schools in the South, for many of the States

had established schools after the model of the Institute. First, South Carolina, with its well-endowed schools, at Charleston and Columbia; then Georgia, at Marietta; Kentucky, at Frankfort; Tennessee, at Nashville; North Carolina, at Charlotte and Hillsboro; Louisiana, at Alexandria; Arkansas, at Little Rock; Florida, at Tallahassee; then, Texas; and finally Alabama, in the thorough reorganization of its State University, at Tuscaloosa. And, thus, had no fewer than ten Southern States followed the guidance of Virginia.

The operation of all of these institutions during the war was greatly embarrassed by the Confederate Conscription Acts, the first of which "entitled an act to provide for the public defense," approved April 16, 1862, did not exempt cadets of the Southern military schools. This Act annulled all previous contracts made by volunteers, and virtually constituted all men over eighteen years of age and under thirty-five, soldiers, during the continuance of the war. The provisions withdrew from State control all male citizens within the age prescribed, and made them subject to the control of the President of the Confederacy, during the war.

Alabama and South Carolina complained bitterly against the conscription of their cadets; and Governor Brown, of Georgia, became involved in a serious controversy with the President over the execution of the Conscript Act. Governor Letcher also sought to secure exemption for the cadets of the Institute, but all in vain. It was suggested to him by the President that a test case be made by causing a cadet to be called into service under the law, and Colonel Smith applying for a writ of *habeas corpus* for the conscript. But this was not necessary, for October 14, 1862, the Superintendent was peremptorily ordered by the Governor of Virginia not to surrender any cadet claimed as a conscript by the Confederate authority, until the constitutionality of the law should be tested, the legislative will of the State ascertained, or until further orders.* At all times,

*Rebellion Records, Series IV, Vol. III, pp. 722-723.

however, the Corps as a military unit was held, by the Governor's orders, subject to the will of General Lee, and, as we shall see, was freely employed by him.

Such was also the case with the Citadel Military Academy, of South Carolina. Numbering about 60 cadets in 1861, and something over 100 in 1863, that Corps was employed repeatedly during the war to man the defenses of Charleston, and other exposed points. During the operations of Major-General Samuel Jones, between December 5th and 31st, 1864, leading up to the evacuation of Savannah, Georgia, the Citadel Cadet Corps served as a unit.* Arriving at Pocotaligo on the 6th of December, it was designated to guard the Tulfinny trestle, together with a battalion of the 32d Georgia Regiment, and a section of artillery. As the enemy approached the Cadet Corps, commanded by Major White, was moved rapidly forwarded in splendid fashion, and was preparing to attack, when the troops on its left gave way and fell back across the Coosawhatchie River; whereupon the cadets were withdrawn, after having actually come under fire at long range. Major White and his Corps were highly complimented by the commanding general for their gallant conduct.**

In 1865, the Citadel Cadet Corps was attached to McGrath's South Carolina brigade and fell back with Hardee before Sherman, as the latter pressed northward.

The Attorney-General, however, in spite of the service the Institute and other military schools were capable of rendering, and actually did render, was compelled to give an opinion declaring that the only possible exemption of those in the military service from active duty, was in the case of Ordnance Department employees; and Congress refused to extend this exemption to cadets of military schools, on the ground that such institutions would prove asylums for those capable of bearing arms and wishing to escape active military

*Jones had previously employed the Corps of Cadets, V. M. I., as we shall see, against Averill in 1863, on two occasions while commanding the Department of Western Virginia.

**Rebellion Records, Series I, Vol. XLIV, pp. 442-446.

service. In this narrow view Congress preferred to leave the matter to the executive discretion, depending on the President to enforce service from the cadets in the various schools, only when the exigencies of the country required. And, so, it remained to the end of the war, in spite of every effort to correct the letter of the law.

As far as the Institute was concerned, the law actually worked no hardship; for, although efforts were made, from time to time, to conscript cadets, it was soon a generally recognized fact that the President would not enforce the law, to the disadvantage of the Institute.

As the age limit of men liable to military duty was but eighteen, the Board thought wise to stimulate matriculation at the Institute, and thereby enhance its usefulness, by fixing the minimum age of cadets at sixteen, instead of seventeen. The expected results were realized; for, soon after the reopening of the Institute, the Corps numbered nearly 300 cadets, 50 of whom were appointed by the President, and the School was recognized by all as the "West Point of the Confederacy."

"ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE, VIRGINIA,
"RICHMOND, June 18, 1863.

"HIS EXCELLENCY, JEFFERSON DAVIS,
"President of the Confederate States of America.

"SIR—The Virginia Military Institute is filled to the utmost capacity, and, although the utmost order prevails, with an earnest, even zealous attention to study, and obedience to all the rules of discipline, there is coupled with the desire of each cadet to complete his course a restless feeling of uncertainty as to whether they ought not, every one of them, to be in the field, and an apprehension that the war may be over before they have struck one blow for Southern liberty.

"It is understood that you regard this Institution with much interest as being to the Confederate States, to a considerable extent, what West Point was to the late United States, and as possessing the capacity beyond any other Southern institution of training the best officers for the Army.

"In this view, if it shall be your opinion that the cadets are more in line of their duty to our country in the course of training at the Military Institute, and will in fact render more important service to the Southern Confederacy by completing their course than by entering the Army before they graduate, I am well assured that a full expression of your opinion and wishes will have a controlling influence over them, and effectually remove all doubt or apprehension in their minds as to the line both of duty and expediency.

"The Board of Visitors and the Superintendent are most anxious to direct the operations of the Institute so as most effectually to meet the wants and wishes of the Confederate Government, and I beg leave to say for them that it will be most gratifying to receive from you any suggestions or recommendations as to the character and duration of the course of instruction, and on any and all other matters which in your judgment has, or may have, an important bearing upon its prospective value to our common cause.

"I beg leave, therefore, with the highest respect, to ask a full and unreserved expression of your opinion upon the whole subject.

"Very respectfully and truly, your obedient servant,

"WM. H. RICHARDSON,
"Adjutant-General of Virginia,
*"Ex-Officio Member of the Board."**

"RICHMOND, VA., June 17, 1863.

"GENERAL W. H. RICHARDSON,
"Adjutant-General of Virginia, Richmond, Va.

"GENERAL—I have the honor, by direction of the President, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 18th instant, in relation to the Virginia Military Institute. The President takes a warm interest in the efficiency and success of the military schools in the several States of the Confederacy, but having had no opportunity to form any opinion by observation of the relative merits of the systems of education pursued at these institutions, he does not desire to be understood to express any especial preference for any. His Excellency is debarred from expressing any opinion as to whether the cadets at the Virginia Military Institute do better service to their country by pursuing their studies than by joining the Army, because his action in regard to the matter must necessarily conform to the law, which requires all citizens who are over eighteen years of age to enter the service, and which leaves him no discretionary power to which the case of cadets who have become liable to military duty can be properly referred. The President

*Rebellion Records, Series IV, Vol. II, pp 592-593.

would be glad to comply with the request of the Board of Visitors, as expressed by you, that he should make suggestions as to the 'character and duration of the course of instruction,' etc., but the pressure of public business will only allow him to refer the Board to a report made by him in 1860 on the subject of military education at West Point, in which his views are given at length.

"With assurances of the President's respect and esteem, I remain, General,

"Your obedient servant,

"WILLIAM M. BROWNE,
*"Colonel and Aide-de-Camp."**

Upon the reorganization of the army, in April, 1862, hundreds of the *élèves* of the Virginia Military Institute, whose training and service entitled them to higher command than they had hitherto exercised, were recognized by the government and the army. It was from then on that such men as Robert E. Rodes, William Mahone, W. Y. C. Humes, Gabriel C. Wharton, John Echols, Reuben Lindsay Walker, Raleigh E. Colston, James E. Slaughter, James H. Lane, James A. Walker, Thomas T. Munford, John McCausland, Birkett D. Fry, William R. Terry, William H. Payne, A. C. Jones, J. R. Jones, A. J. Vaughan, James B. Terrill, and James W. Allen, began to forge ahead in the higher grades of the service, and that others began to occupy some of the most prominent staff positions in the army, among which, a few, at least, should be mentioned.

Colonel Walter H, Taylor, '57, was Adjutant-General, Army of Northern Virginia; Colonel Edwin J. Harvie, '55, Inspector-General to General Joseph E. Johnston; Colonel Briscoe G. Baldwin, '48, Chief of Ordnance, and Major A. R. H. Ranson, '47, Assistant Chief of Ordnance, Army of Northern Virginia; Major Giles B. Cooke, '59, Assistant Adjutant-General, Army of Northern Virginia; Brigadier-General Reuben Lindsay Walker, '45, Chief of Artillery, 3d Corps; Colonel Stapleton Crutchfield, '55, Chief of Artillery, 2d Corps; Thomas H. Carter, '47, Chief of Artillery,

*Ibid., p. 597.

Early's Army; and Robert Preston Chew, '61, Chief of Horse Artillery, Army of Northern Virginia.

We have already said that wide-spread prejudice existed in the Southern Army against the graduates of West Point, and the Institute, because of the great number of them commissioned at the beginning of the war.

There were but 282 West Pointers who joined the Confederacy, and most of them attained high rank. There were nearly three times this number of V. M. I. men commissioned in the service (810). We are compelled to believe, therefore, that another prejudice besides that of the civilian soldiers militated against the Institute, and before the close of the war it was a controlling one; for West Pointers were unwilling to share honors with the *élèves* of any other School of Arms, the V. M. I. not excepted. But there were some V. M. I. men who, as we have seen, simply could not be denied their due.

The fact remains, however, that at the close of the war, William Mahone and Reuben Lindsay Walker, and a few other graduates of the Institute, were the only general officers except West Pointers remaining in responsible positions, for the West Point influence had triumphed. The fact also remains that Mahone's celebrated division was practically the only fighting organization left at the time General Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia. Leaving the trenches at Petersburg with 30,000 men, April 2d, General Lee arrived at Appomattox, April 9th, with 7,892 organized infantry. The Parole rolls include a grand total of 28,231 officers and men for ten divisions, many of the number having rejoined their commands after the surrender. But of the actual number present at the surrender, nearly half were in Mahone's five brigades, which contained 3,537 officers and men.

After the battle of Gettysburg, and the failure of the second invasion of the North, General Lee, with that magnanimity by which he was characterized, assuming

all blame, and willing to turn over the command of the army "to one better able to lead it" than himself, should there be such an one, tendered his resignation to the President, and recommended that a younger officer be appointed in his stead. Mr. Davis wisely declined to consider the matter and persuaded General Lee to continue in command; and the fact that he had tendered his resignation was kept a profound secret for a long time. When it did come out, however, there was great curiosity on the part of all to know whom General Lee had recommended as his successor.

"Of the fact that some younger general was recommended by Lee at the time of his resignation, I have undoubted authority, and, if any body questions it, I can make that authority known any time," wrote Major-General Benjamin F. Butler, of the Federal Army.*

"It has come out, however, that General William Mahone was the man recommended by Lee, and the statement is from Lee's own mouth. Since Mahone's change of politics, in Virginia it has been most stoutly contradicted. It is but just to Mahone to say that, at that time, he was ignorant both of Lee's resignation, and of his recommendation."**

To substantiate this assertion, General Butler presented in his book a *facsimile* letter, the text of which is as follows:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., March 10, 1889.

"MY DEAR GENERAL—It gives me great pleasure to hand you a written statement of a conversation at the table of General R. E. Lee, which, years ago, I stated to your wife, yourself, and some twenty gentlemen at your table. The occasion was the first commencement of Washington and Lee University. General Wade Hampton delivered the address before the Literary Societies, and I, before the Alumni. General Lee gave a sort of State dinner to thirty gentlemen. I think I was the only officer at the table below the rank of colonel. And the honor was accorded me because I was the orator of the day. After the cloth was drawn, and the wine began to circulate, some gentlemen, a brigadier from Georgia

*Butler's Book, p. 880.
**Ibid.

(I think it was General Jackson from the lower end of the table), asked General Lee if he did not think Gordon, of Georgia, had developed the highest qualities for command, General Lee, with his habitual quiet dignity, replied, 'Where all did so well, certainly it would be invidious and improper for me to particularize. General Gordon was a brave and efficient soldier.' Then, rising, he said, 'Gentlemen, fill up your glasses. Etiquette demanded that this official dinner should be made in accordance with rank; gentlemen, I propose a toast which all will drink with pleasure to the privates of the Army of Northern Virginia, who, I still sometimes think, came near winning immortal fame for us.' The toast was drunk standing. After this the conversation became general, and some one down the table seemed to be telling a good story. General Hampton sat on the right, and I, as orator of the day, sat on the left, of Lee. Turning to Hampton, General Lee said something in a low tone. I leaned back, as I thought it was possible it might be something confidential. Laying his hand upon my knee, he said, 'Lean over, Major; I only wish Hampton and yourself to hear.' Then, 'General Hampton, in the dark days which preceded the fall of the Confederacy, for a good while, I was almost hopeless. And you know I did not spare this poor life, for I thought it became me to fall on one of those fields of glory. My artillery was handled well. The cavalry was in the very hands, after the death of Stuart, that I preferred to any other. But I often thought if a stray ball should carry me off who could best command the incomparable infantry of the Army of Northern Virginia. Of course, I could not nominate a successor—that whole matter was in the hands of the President. But, among the younger men, I thought William Mahone had developed the highest qualities for organization and command.'

"The words were written down by me that evening, and are in my desk at Ellwood. I write them now hastily in a public room. But I know they are accurate. We drifted far apart, politically, and I so entirely condemned your policy and methods that I would not give them to the world. Now, I cheerfully write them, and, as far as I am concerned, this may be an open letter to the world.

"Very truly yours,

"J. HORACE LACY.

"To General William Mahone."

Major Lacy was a gentleman of the highest standing in Virginia. The truth of his evidence has been bitterly assailed and denied, as often as it has been presented; but in the nature of things, it can not be disproven. It was not denied by General Wade Hampton, who died in 1902. Wade Hampton, the very soul of honor, could

have dispelled all doubts with a word. But the writer neither intends to defend the Lacy letter, nor to pose as the champion of William Mahone, V. M. I., 1847. It is sufficient to know that General Lee entertained the highest respect for his military abilities, and that his career as a leader grew more illustrious with every succeeding day of his service in the Army of Northern Virginia. Had the war continued longer, he would, undoubtedly, have received the highest recognition, and brought even greater credit upon the School of Arms in which he was trained.

CHAPTER XIII

WINTER OF 1862—BATTLE OF MC DOWELL

DECEMBER 18, 1861, the Superintendent was relieved of his command at Craney Island by the War Department, and returned to the Institute, under the orders of the Board of Visitors. In order that he might bear rank of equal dignity with that of his subordinate professor, Jackson, who had been promoted Major-General, October 7th, the Superintendent was now appointed Major-General, Virginia Reserves.

On reaching the Institute, General Smith found himself without the aid of a single professor or assistant professor, with upwards of a hundred cadets ready to report for duty, January 1st. The orders of the War Department detaching Colonel Gilham from the brigade which he was commanding, and Major Scott Shipp, from his regiment in the field, had been temporarily suspended by General Jackson, under an emergency, and they did not report to the Superintendent until January 16th, and Lieutenant-Colonel Preston, of Jackson's staff, not until January 31st.* Meantime, Major Shipp had reported for duty with his regiment December 1st, in Staunton, from which point he accompanied it down the Valley, taking part in the Romney Campaign early in January. On the day Romney was captured Major Shipp commanded the skirmish line with conspicuous ability.

Dr. R. L. Madison, however, reported on the 2d, Lieutenant-Colonel Williamson on the 9th; and Llewellyn Crittenden, E. L. Yancey, and Walter Bowie, all of the Class of 1861, were immediately appointed assistant professors, and assigned to tactical duties.

*The order relieving these officers from duty in the field was S. O. No. 276. A. & I. C. O. Richmond, Dec. 27, 1861.

On the 16th, Major John D. H. Ross, and Lieutenant Semmes, also reported.

Exercises were commenced January 2d; and, with the Superintendent and the Surgeon alone present, the new cadets were enrolled, and the Corps reorganized. By the end of January, the Corps numbered 232 cadets present for duty, including 22 in the Second, and 65 in the Third Class, or a total of but 87 old cadets. Additional cadets soon reported, so that the total enrollment, February 4, 1861, was 269. Over fifty applicants were refused during January alone.

Upon the reopening of the Institute, the Superintendent received a communication from his Excellency, Governor Letcher, stating that inquiry had been made of him by the Secretary of State, Hon. R. M. T. Hunter, on behalf of the President, if the 56 Confederate Cadets appointed by him could be admitted to the Institute, and on what terms. General Smith immediately replied that the Institute would receive such cadets on the same basis as Pay Cadets from other States, provided the Confederate Government would be responsible for the accounts of the same; and preparations were at once made to enlarge the Barracks for their accommodation.

There could be no doubt now that the Confederacy regarded the Virginia Military Institute as its National School of Arms; and, in order to place the course of practical military instruction on a par with that at West Point, the Superintendent urged the immediate provision of 36 horses for the instruction of the cadets in cavalry and light artillery drill. These important arms of the service should be cared for at the Institute, he urged, and, in his opinion, no expense should be spared for that purpose. "We have seen," said he, "what has been accomplished by the cadets in the camp of instruction, for infantry, and in part, in the artillery camp. More can yet be done, and it should not be neglected."

The heaviest loss which had befallen the Institute up to this time was the death of General Philip St. George Cocke, on December 26, 1861. Appointed Brigadier-General, October 21, 1861, while President of the Board, after commanding a brigade with distinction at First Manassas, he was finally compelled, at the end of eight months' service, to retire to his home in Powhatan County, where he died at the age of fifty-three.

He had served on the Board from 1846 to 1852, and from 1858 until the time of his death. From the day of its founding, he had been one of the foremost supporters of the Institute, not only contributing large sums of money, and unremitting labors to its welfare; but, also by enrolling as cadets his three grown sons. It was with the funds secretly provided by General Cocke that the Superintendent visited Europe in 1858 to study the continental systems of military instruction, and it was his large donation to the Institute that founded the first School of Scientific Agriculture in the State of Virginia. Even to-day, two cadets are still educated by the Cocke scholarships. In Philip St. George Cocke, the West Pointer, and former artillery officer, the Institute, as a technical School of Arms, found its most able advocate and executor of the original ideas of Crozet. All honor to his memory; and may a fitting monument some day be erected at the Institute, along with those of Claude Crozet, Francis Henney Smith, John Thomas Lewis Preston, William Gilham, Matthew Fontaine Maury, John Mercer Brooke, Scott Shipp, and William H. Richardson, to memorialize the services of this remarkable galaxy of men to Virginia and her great School of Arms. Had General Cocke with his great fortune survived the war, it seems certain many of the difficulties in which the Institute was involved in the dark days of reconstruction would have been averted.*

The first weeks of the session of 1862 comprised a period of reorganization fraught with great difficulties.

*As these lines are written news of the death of his second son, Philip St. George Cocke, comes to hand. Mr. Cocke was a cadet at New Market, as was his younger brother, the late William R. C. Cocke (two of whose sons were Cadets at the Institute); an older brother, Lieutenant John B. Cocke, was graduated in the Class of 1856.

Many parents sent their sons to the Institute to avail themselves of the practical exemption they would there receive from conscription, knowing, however, the liability of the Corps to military service. There was no First Class from which to draw mature cadet officers; only a small Second Class, and a Third Class also small in number, which had served but a part of the preceding year. The plebes were largely in the majority, and many of them matriculated under virtual duress. Such was the problem confronting the new Commandant, Major Shipp, made more difficult by reason of the resignation of cadets from day to day to join the army with the consent of their parents, the irregular reporting of new cadets, and the desertion of others in order to enlist in the army.

A strong hand was required to bring discipline out of such an organization; and, that it was applied, is evidenced by the fact that all cadets deficient at the examinations, or neglectful of their military duty, were promptly dismissed, those over eighteen years of age being turned over to the army. Over 70 cadets were thus dismissed at one examination; but others were always at hand to keep the Corps well recruited. The difficulty was that many were purposely neglectful, in order to enter the active military service.

Great difficulties were also experienced in providing uniform cloth, shoes, clothing in general, and rations, for so large a body of cadets; but, with the aid of the Quartermaster-General, supplies were secured and transported to Lexington from the far South by the direction of the President. The blockade-runners contributed books and many other necessary articles.

The arms issued to the Corps at this time were the old smooth-bore percussion cap muskets, formerly used by the cadets. They were very heavy, unserviceable, and, therefore, unsatisfactory; but more efficient small arms were not to be had, and were even much needed in the army.

Major Shipp conducted regular artillery practice with the smooth-bore guns at the Institute, including

the howitzers, the 6-pounders of the Cadet Battery, and several old mortars stored in the Arsenal. The iron rifles had been taken from the cadets in Richmond, the preceding April.

As the Corps grew from week to week, additions to the faculty became necessary. Early in April, therefore, Lieutenant-Colonel James W. Massie, '49, of Jackson's staff, physically disabled for active service in the field, reported for duty as Professor of Mathematics, and was assigned by the War Department to the command of the local Home Guards which he was directed to organize and discipline.

In April, Captains Abel S. Scott, '60, and Henry A. Wise, '61, also reported for duty, the latter on parole, and were attached to the Tactical Department.

Before spring, the Corps had been hammered into excellent shape, notwithstanding the constant losses and accessions; and, while great attention had been devoted to military instruction throughout the winter, the near approach of the enemy in the western part of the State required the suspension in April of all academic duty, in order that more time might be available for practical instruction in the field.

On the 22d of April, the Superintendent announced in orders his purpose of tendering the services of the Corps to General Jackson, who was then operating against the enemy in the Valley District. This order filled the Corps with the utmost zeal. Resignations and disorders now ceased and all bent their energies to the work before them, praying that active service would soon be demanded of them.

In order to understand the sentiments animating the Corps, at this time, it is necessary to know the feeling which the cadets entertained for the Army of the Valley. General Jackson they regarded as their special tutelary genius. He belonged to the Institute, heart and soul, and his name was still borne on its rolls. According to his own expressed wishes he was considered as on leave of absence in the field. Colonels Preston and Massie,

of his staff, temporarily relieved from field duty, were at the Institute, but Major Daniel Trueheart, '50, was still serving as Jackson's Chief of Artillery, and Dr. E. L. Graham as his Surgeon.

His army was composed at this time as follows:

FIRST BRIGADE ("STONEWALL"):

BRIGADIER-GENERAL GARNETT
- 2d Virginia
- 4th Virginia
- 5th Virginia
- 27th Virginia
- 33d Virginia

SECOND BRIGADE:

COLONEL BURKS
- 21st Virginia
- 42d Virginia
- 48th Virginia
- 1st Regular Battalion (Irish)

THIRD BRIGADE:

COLONEL FULKERSON
- 10th Virginia
- 23d Virginia
- 37th Virginia

McLaughlin's Battery	8 guns
Water's Battery	4 guns
Carpenter's Battery	4 guns
Marye's Battery	4 guns
Shumaker's Battery	4 guns
Chew's Horse Artillery Battery	8 guns

7th Virginia Cavalry

The infantry numbered about 8,600, the cavalry 600 and the six batteries, with their 27 guns, about 500 men.

In this command were at least 100 former cadets serving in various capacities under their old professor. In the 2d Virginia, there were Colonel James W. Allen, '43, Lieutenant-Colonel Raleigh T. Colston, '46, Major Lawson Botts, '49, and Major Francis B. Jones, '48.* In the 4th Virginia, there were Major William R. Terry, '50 (subsequently Colonel in the 27th Regiment), Colonel John Echols, '43, and Major William W. Gordon, '50, who succeeded Echols in command. In the 33d Virginia, were Colonel Arthur C. Cummings,

*Francis Lackland, '49, as Lieutenant-Colonel, commanded this regiment at First Manassas.

'44, Lieutenant-Colonel John R. Jones, '48, and John F. Neff, '58 (later Colonel of the regiment).

The Artillery of the Stonewall Brigade, at this time, consisted of the Rockbridge Battery, of Lexington, and the Alleghany Battery from the neighborhood of Covington. Nearly every member of the former was well known to the officers and cadets of the Institute, and in it they naturally felt a proprietary interest. Its commander, William McLaughlin, was a member of the Board of Visitors. Joseph H. Carpenter, '56, commanded the Alleghany battery, and in it were several old cadets, including the Orderly-Sergeant. So much for the Stonewall Brigade.

In the Second Brigade, commanded by Colonel Jesse S. Burks, '44, there were Colonel John M. Patton, Jr., '46 (who had succeeded Colonel Gilham in command of the 21st Regiment), and Lieutenant-Colonel William P. Moseley, '61, Major John B. Moseley, '60; and Major Scott Shipp, the Commandant, still held his commission as Major in this regiment which he had assisted Colonel Gilham in recruiting and organizing. In the 42d Virginia, Jesse S. Burks, '44, was Colonel, P. B. Adams, '49, Major; while John A. Campbell, '44, was Colonel of the 48th Virginia.

In the Third Brigade, Colonel William B. Taliaferro, formerly President of the Board of Visitors, commanded the 23d Virginia with Clayton G. Coleman, Jr., an ex-cadet, as his Lieutenant-Colonel. In the 37th Virginia, Robert P. Carson, '54, was Lieutenant-Colonel, commanding, and Titus V. Williams, '59, was a Major, and later Colonel; while Simeon B. Gibbons, '52, commanded the 10th Virginia (later killed).

In the Horse Artillery Battery, all four of the officers were fresh from the Institute, and no outfit in the army so appealed to the pride of the Corps as did Chew's Battery, by reason of its brilliant exploits, the youth of its commissioned personnel, and the fact that it was organized and exclusively officered by men with whom every old cadet in the Corps had recently served at the Institute.

On the 11th day of November, 1861, Robert Preston Chew, aged nineteen, Milton Rouss, seventeen, and James W. Thomson, eighteen, all of the Class of 1861, under special authority of the Secretary of War, organized the first Horse Battery in the Confederate Army. Soon, James W. McCarty, '60, joined the battery as junior second lieutenant.

The original armament of this battery consisted of a 6-inch iron rifle, a 12-pounder howitzer, and an imported Blakeley rifle.

"Chew's Battery was Ashby's pet, and under the gallant Chew it was as much Ashby's right arm, as Ashby was the right arm of Jackson. Indeed, the fame of this battery extended throughout the Army of Northern Virginia, and the attestations to its distinguished service are too numerous for mention."*

"In the minds of the people of the Valley, the Ashby cavalry and Chew's Battery belonged to one another as by natural affinity, and they located the position of the Federals by the familiar crack of 'Chew's Blakeley' which awakened the echoes of the mountains, and spread commotion in the encampments of the enemy, ere the farmers had aroused to call and feed their hogs."**

Officered by young, energetic, and highly-trained young men who have been tutored by Jackson himself, it was natural that this command should attain a distinction second to none in the service. After the death of Ashby, it served in the famous battalion of Stuart Horse Artillery, and was, perhaps, engaged in more affairs than any battery in the army. In 1863, Chew became a major of Horse Artillery, and March 1, 1865, was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel, commanding the Stuart Horse Artillery, proving himself a worthy successor of the "gallant" Pelham. Jimmie Thomson became a Major of Horse Artillery, and was killed at the High Bridge in April, three days before the Surrender.

When the youthful Captain Chew, with his even more youthful lieutenants, reported for duty to Jackson, the

*General Thomas T. Munford.
**See History of the Laurel Brigade, McDonald, pp. 30-35.

latter's face wore a quizzical expression, as he inquired: "Young men, now that you have your company, what are you going to do with it?" There was no reply to this question then, but the answer came soon, for but a few weeks later, Captain Chew, Milton Rouss, Jimmie Thomson, and Jimmie McCarty, performed a feat of arms with their battery, believed to be impossible until they executed it, and that was a charge in the front rank of Ashby's cavalry upon the enemy at Middletown, on which occasion the guns were unlimbered and discharged at a distance of not over fifty yards from the Federals. Chew not only originated this hazardous practice, but performed similar feats of daring on many other fields thereafter.* How the old drill-master's heart must have swelled with pride over the exploits of young Chew, and his other former pupils!

After reviewing the composition of the Army of the Valley, it is easy to understand the proprietary interest the Corps felt in it, and the longing the cadets entertained to join in active service those whom they had either known or of whom they had heard so much, at the Institute.

The long-expected order soon followed the preparations of the Superintendent, and, on May 1st, the following communication was received by him:

"SWIFT RUN GAP, April 30, 1862.

"MAJOR-GENERAL F. H. SMITH,
"Superintendent, Virginia Military Institute.

"GENERAL—Please march the cadets at once to Staunton, if you feel authorized to co-operate in an important movement which I will explain to you when we meet; as many of the cadets' parents may have sent their sons to the Institute for the purpose of keeping them out of the field, at present, I can provide for all such cases, and even for the entire Corps, if necessary, by assigning them to the care of the provisions, and the baggage train; and thus let volunteers go into battle who would be otherwise kept out. The duty I know would not be congenial to the feelings of our brave Corps which I am well satisfied would desire to advance; but the

*See History of Laurel Brigade, McDonald, p. 32. Also The Long Arm of Lee, Wise.

MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM H. RICHARDSON
ADJUTANT-GENERAL OF VIRGINIA 1841-1865, 1866-1875

McClellan had assembled an immense army of 200,000 men about Washington, and Shields was in command of 46,000 Federal troops—a long line from Fredericksburg to Romney. About 40,000 Federals had assembled under General Banks, along the Potomac. Early in March, Banks commenced his advance from Harper's Ferry into the Valley, and Jackson with his small army, instead of retiring, advanced and offered Banks battle on the 7th, and again on the 11th, of March. Falling back through Winchester to Strasburg, Jackson again took up a position, in the hope that he would be attacked; but the enemy remained in Winchester until the 18th, when Banks sent Shields, who had reinforced him with 12,000 men, forward to Strasburg. Jackson retired slowly up the Valley as far as Mount Jackson. Ashby, with his cavalry and Chew's Battery, disputed every foot of the way. Meantime, Banks was ordered to Manassas, and Shields was left at Winchester.

Upon learning on the 22d that Shields alone was now before him, Jackson determined upon an attack. General Shields had been wounded by a shell from Chew's "Blakeley" and was succeeded in command by Kimball, who formed his line in the vicinity of Kernstown, some miles south of Winchester. The Confederates were repulsed, with a loss of 718 killed and wounded, and, although unsuccessful in this fight, so alarmed Mr. Lincoln that McDowell, with 40,000 men, was posted at Fredericksburg, and Banks was ordered back to the Valley to oppose Jackson.

About the 1st of April, Banks had succeeded in driving Jackson's Cavalry back as far as Edinburg, where Ashby clung on for over three weeks.

By April 15th, Jackson had increased his force to a little over 6,000 men; but Banks, who had been heavily reinforced, made an advance on the 17th, and reached Harrisonburg on the 22d.

It was this near approach which had caused General Smith to prepare the cadets for field service, and to tender the use of the Corps to General Jackson.

From Harrisonburg, Jackson crossed the Shenandoah at Conrad's Store, and went into camp in Elk Run Valley. He was not equal to fighting Banks in the open country between Harrisonburg and Staunton, but, in this position, would be a constant threat to the safety of that general. With Banks advancing up the Valley towards Staunton, Milroy at McDowell, and Fremont moving up the South Branch Valley, it seemed Staunton and Lexington were doomed.

General Ewell was encamped on the Upper Rappahannock with his division of 8,000 men. General Edward, Johnson, with a brigade, had marched back to within a few miles of Staunton. McDowell's advance had reached Fredericksburg. In order to divert McDowell from his contemplated junction with the right of the Army of the Potomac, which, under McClellan, had assailed Johnston at Yorktown, General Lee now authorized Jackson to employ Ewell's division.

On the 29th, Ewell arrived at the Elk Run Valley, and Jackson moved up the river to Port Republic, while Ashby demonstrated before Banks at Harrisonburg. Jackson's intentions were guarded with the utmost secrecy from now on, and not even his brigade commanders knew his plans. On May 3d, he turned to the left and crossed the Blue Ridge Mountains, directing his march to a station on Meechum's River. Everyone was bewildered by his movements. Ewell and all, save Ashby, were as much mystified as the enemy who were completely in the dark. Mr. Lincoln and General Halleck received information of Jackson's simultaneous appearance in at least three different places. None of them knew the contents of the following letter:

"BROWN'S GAP, May 3, 1862.

"MAJOR-GENERAL F. H. SMITH,
"Superintendent, Virginia Military Institute.

"GENERAL—Since leaving Swift Run Gap, the heavy roads have prevented my reaching Staunton, as I hoped to do by marching

across the country by Port Republic; but I hope in a few days to be with you in Staunton.

"I trust that neither yourself, nor any member of your command, will have occasion to regret this temporary suspension of the Institute. It is unnecessary for you to come this side of Staunton. Should you have any leisure time, it would be well spent in familiarizing yourself with the country, if you are not already acquainted with it, in the direction of the enemy, as far as our pickets. I send you herewith a pass. I desire all the information possible respecting the military features of the country between us and the enemy.

"Yesterday, Colonel Williamson was reconnoitering this pass, but will soon be in the Valley.

"I am much obliged to you for bringing the artillery. It is very desirable to arouse the people, and to induce as many as possible to come forward and meet this special emergency, and with such arms as they may have.

"It is very important to keep our movements concealed from the enemy, and, to this end, our people should say nothing about our Army.

"Ashby has a large cavalry force, which is mainly designed at present to cover my present march to Staunton.

"With you, I am assured our God will prosper our cause. Please remember me very kindly to the officers who are with you.

"I am, General,

"Your obedient servant,

"T. J. JACKSON."

This letter, written by Jackson when he was heading directly away from Staunton, clearly established his intention to return to that point at which the Corps had arrived on the day it was written.

Leaving Lexington at noon of the 1st, the Corps had camped that night at Fairfield, after a march of 12 miles, and the next night at Mint Springs, 20 miles farther on, leaving but a six-mile march the third day. No guns were taken, as assumed by General Jackson.*

General Smith preceded the Corps, and, upon arriving in Staunton, immediately reported to General Jackson, receiving the letter before quoted, in reply.

The Corps did not find the famous "Stonewall Brigade" and the other troops of Jackson's command

*This statement is made upon the authority of General Shipp, who was in command.

awaiting it in Staunton. In Ewell's division, there were also many old friends the cadets and officers had hoped to see. That division was composed of Taylor's Louisiana Brigade; Elzey's Brigade, 13th, 31st, and 25th Virginia, and 12th Georgia; Scott's Brigade, 44th, 52d, and 58th Virginia; the 1st Maryland Regiment, and the 2d and 6th Virginia Cavalry, with 6 batteries of artillery. In the Virginia regiments were many former cadets.

Thomas T. Munford, '52, was Lieutenant-Colonel, commanding the 2d Virginia Cavalry, and Cary Breckinridge, '60, was a major in that regiment. In the 13th Virginia Infantry, there were Colonel James B. Terrill, '58, Lieutenant-Colonel James A. Walker, '52, and Major John B. Sherrard, '45. George A. Porterfield, '44, commanded the 25th Virginia, with George H. Smith, '53, as one of his majors, later colonel. Francis M. Boykin, '56, and Joseph H. Chenoweth, '59, were lieutenant-colonel and major in the 31st Virginia, respectively. A. C. Jones, '50, was a major in the 44th Virginia, and John D. Lilley, '58, and John D. H. Ross, '59, were majors in the 52d Virginia, while Stapleton Crutchfield, '55, was lieutenant-colonel of the 58th Virginia. Besides these field-officers, there were many other former cadets in Ewell's division, most of the younger ones commanding companies in the various regiments, or batteries. But of all these, only those of Elzey's, or Edward Johnson's, Brigade, were to take part in the operations immediately ensuing.

Sunday, May 4th, after reaching Meechum's River, Jackson entrained his infantry for Staunton, leaving his artillery and wagon train to follow by road. Banks, like McDowell, meantime had received what he believed to be the most reliable intelligence of Jackson's progress past Gordonsville to join Lee.

When Jackson's troops returned to Staunton on the 4th and 5th, it was rumored that Ashby was being rapidly forced back upon the town by Banks, and that Edward Johnson was also being driven in from the

west by Milroy. Yet, he rested his troops on the 6th, and prepared for the sudden movements he was about to undertake. This delay was not at all pleasing to General Smith, who, having flattered himself upon the confidence Jackson had placed in him, now perceived that he knew no more of his ultimate aims than any one else. It was in a peevish state of mind, therefore, after three days of idle waiting in and about Staunton, examining the terrain thereabout, perhaps, as suggested in Jackson's dispatch, little improved by the Board's disapproval of his action in turning out the Corps, that he addressed the following letter to the Commanding General:

"HEADQUARTERS, VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE,
"STAUNTON, May 6, 1862.

"MAJOR-GENERAL T. J. JACKSON,
"Commanding Valley District.

"GENERAL—In tendering to you the co-operation of the Corps of Cadets, for the defense of this portion of the Valley, to the extent of my authority and means, I was prompted by a sense of duty devolving upon me as Commandant of the Public Guard at Lexington, and by a desire to make an effort to protect the Virginia Military Institute from destruction.

"On reaching Staunton with the Corps of Cadets, I reported my arrival to the Adjutant-General of Virginia, and regret to find that the presumed authority which I had supposed that I had received from that officer had been misunderstood, and that the Board was unanimous in their disapprobation of the cadets being in any way subjected to the risk of battle, unless in the immediate defense of Lexington, and also objected to the co-operation on the part of the Corps with military movements in the field. The view taken by the Board is based upon the idea 'that it would be a breach of good faith on the part of the Institute towards parents and guardians.' Subsequently, the Governor has said 'that as the mischief had been done, we had as well go on.'

"Finding myself thus unexpectedly and painfully embarrassed, by the action of the Board, and the opinion of the Governor, I would esteem it a favor if you would inform me in what way, and to what extent, I may take the responsibility of acting in opposition to the express wishes and orders of my immediate superiors.

"Your obedient servant,
"FRANCIS H. SMITH."

General Jackson knew conditions at the Institute too well not to give the Superintendent the assurance he needed for the action which the Governor had characterized as "mischief", and which the Board had unanimously condemned. He, therefore, promptly addressed the following letter:

"HEADQUARTERS, VALLEY DISTRICT,
"STAUNTON, May 6, 1862.

"MAJOR-GENERAL F. H. SMITH,
"Superintendent, Virginia Military Institute.

"GENERAL—Your letter of this date, stating the embarrassment in which you are placed in co-operating with me, in defense of this portion of the Valley, and requesting to be informed in what way, and to what extent, I propose to use the Corps of Cadets, has been received. In reply, I would state, that should you, notwithstanding the action of the Board of Visitors, and of the Governor, feel at liberty to continue your co-operation, the Corps of Cadets will form a part of the reserve, and that its duties will perhaps be of an unusually active character, and may continue for five or seven days. The safety of this section of the Valley, in my opinion, renders your continued co-operation of great importance; but, should you deem it your duty, in consequence of the action of the Board of Visitors and of the Governor of the State, to return at once to the Institute, I hope you will accept for yourself, and tender to your command, the grateful appreciation of your patriotic devotion to our cause, which has been manifested by having so promptly responded to my call.

"I am, General,

"Your obedient servant,
"T. J. JACKSON,
"Major-General."

This politic reply in which the Superintendent was flatteringly reassured, and at the same time relieved not one whit of the responsibility of his future course, either in remaining or returning with the Corps, had the effect the shrewd writer intended for it, and elicited the following response:

"HEADQUARTERS, VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE,
"May 6, 1862.

"MAJOR-GENERAL T. J. JACKSON,
"Commanding Valley District.

"GENERAL—I have received your communication of this date. The unqualified expression of your opinion that the continued co-

disgruntled body of cadets that returned to camp that night. For weeks, they had builded upon their hopes. The long period of expectancy and drilling had been followed by the order calling out the Corps. Then the Corps had marched to Staunton, picturing an enemy on every hill, only to be held in restraint in Staunton, without the slightest knowledge of the future course. Then, had come the day when, relegated to the reserve, yet happy, the Corps had set out for McDowell, only to be held in the rear in the very sound of the firing, and, later, rushed back and forth over the roads, without the slightest opportunity to participate in the action. It was all certainly very disappointing to the exuberant youths who chafed at the leash with boyish impatience.

The next morning, Ashby's cavalry crossed the bridge at McDowell, and moved cautiously forward through the mountain passes which had blocked pursuit. The infantry halted for some hours in McDowell, in order that rations might be issued. Here, the delightful task of burying the Federal dead, some 26 in number, was assigned Major Shipp and the cadets, a duty no doubt designed to harden the nerves of the young soldiers.

Meantime, the Federals had covered 23 miles or more in their flight, so that even forced marches on the 10th and 11th failed to overtake them. The difficulties of the pursuit were heightened by the novel scheme of setting the mountain forests on fire, which enshrouded the vales with an impenetrable cloud of smoke. Late on the 11th, however, Jackson gained close contact with the retreating Federals, and drove them back as far as the village of Franklin, where they assumed a defiant attitude, in a position of great natural strength. In the meantime, the cadets who had discharged their inglorious task, arrived and were deployed by Major Shipp, while the random firing from both sides continued. The Corps was not, however, actively engaged.

Having driven Milroy and Schenck far enough to prevent Fremont's juncture with Banks, Jackson commenced his march back to the Valley on the 12th, arriv-

ing at Lebanon Springs on the road to Harrisonburg on the 15th, while the Corps returned to Staunton by the direct road. Banks, meanwhile, had fallen back to Strasburg, so there was no occasion for the Corps to remain away from Lexington longer.

Remaining in Staunton during the 15th, the Corps marched to Lexington on the 16th, 17th and 18th, and orders were issued, the following day, for the resumption of academic duties on the 20th.

Soon, the following order was received at the Institute, which attested the valuable service rendered the cause by the Corps of Cadets:

"HEADQUARTERS, VALLEY DISTRICT, AT MCDOWELL,
"May 15, 1862.

"GENERAL ORDERS—No. 46.

"The imminent danger to which Staunton was recently exposed having been removed by the defeat of the combined forces of Generals Schenck and Milroy on the west, and the falling back of General Banks on the north, Major-General F. H. Smith returns with his command to the post and duties which have been assigned him by the State of Virginia. In thus parting with this patriotic officer, and those who had for a time left their scientific and literary pursuits for the purpose of co-operating in repelling the danger which threatened the Virginia Military Institute (which has by its graduates contributed so efficiently to the success of this war), the Major-General commanding tenders his thanks to Major-General Smith, and the officers and cadets under him, for the promptitude and efficiency with which they have assisted in the recent expedition.

"By command of Major-General T. J. Jackson,

"T. L. DABNEY,
"A. A. G."

The following account of the experiences of the Corps of Cadets in the McDowell Campaign, by Captain B. A. Colonna, Class of 1864, First Sergeant of Company "D" in 1862, is so graphic and so live with interest, that it is here inserted in full:

"Our first day's march became disagreeable on account of a cold rain that set in at about 2 or 3 o'clock. The Corps, though not prepared for hardship, was not provided with transportation as we had been in April, 1861. There were no stage coaches and only

two or three wagons and one ambulance. The cadets carried their own blankets, etc., each had a tin cup and plate, haversack and canteen, and were not equipped as fancy soldiers at all. Our arms were the little drill guns, quite unsuited for war, smooth-bores—just what he had before the war for drill guns. Each cadet carried in his haversack enough food to last him to Staunton, viz., two days' rations, consisting of hardtack, sandwiches and bacon—and coffee; for we had coffee then that was made for us by old Judge, in large tin camp kettles, and the 'short sweetening' was boiled in. The cadets were allowed to nibble at this food whenever we stopped, and some nibbled even on the march; but we had no coffee until we reached camp that night, a long distance beyond Fairfield, where we were fed in 1861. I think this place was called Mint Spring.

"The night was miserable enough, for it rained at intervals, and though there were a few tents we slept on the ground, and only a few of the cadets knew how to care for themselves. 'Spex' was not along. Col. Shipp was mounted on a dapply iron-gray, a stallion, I believe, and a lazy brute that I often wished I could have on a side road to put some ginger in him. Dr. Madison rode a clumsy sorrel that I suspected to be from some livery stable, and this doctor was as kind as he could be in dismounting most of the time and allowing some tired cadet to ride his horse. There were a lot of assistant professors along who generally marched at the rear of the column. Dr. Madison was a particularly entertaining man, whose knowledge of Botany made a day's marching at his side as instructive as a week's study at school.

"Sunday, May 4th, we were about as soon as it was light, and coffee was ready by the time our tents were struck. The morning air was damper than our clothes. The day was only partly cloudy, and the excellent spirits of the boys soon caused sore feet and blisters to be forgotten as we pulled along through the mud toward Staunton, arriving there while it was yet daylight. I can not recall the place where we stopped, but I think it was in some vacant store or warehouse. The good people of Staunton treated us royally, and we had an excellent night's rest.

"Monday, May 5th. Rations were issued and coffee served as usual. We cleaned up our clothes and made ourselves as presentable as we could, and in the afternoon had Dress Parade on the lawn in front of the Deaf and Dumb asylum. The blind children sang for us in the evening; one very pathetic song made the tears come in my eyes. I remember some of the words:

" 'No one to love, none to caress,
Wandering alone through this world's wilderness,' etc.

We spent the night pleasantly.

"Tuesday, May 6th. It was rumored that Gen. Jackson was in town, and we had hardly finished our hardtack and bacon when the word was passed that we were to pass in review before him. There was much effort to prepare for the event, and at dinner roll call it was officially announced that we would respond to drum call at 1 P. M. The review was over by 2 P. M., being held on the spacious grounds before the Deaf and Dumb asylum. It was the last time I ever appeared before my old professor. (I recited in declamation before him in 1860-61.)

"It was rumored that we were to be attached to the Stonewall Brigade, and that evening at D. P. an order was read, to that effect, but that brigade was not just then in evidence.

"Wednesday, May 7th. After a quiet, restful day the Stonewall Brigade came in. I did not see it at all, but during the afternoon rations were issued for a day, and no permits to leave quarters were issued. There was an early tattoo, and the word was passed around that we were to be ready for an early start in the morning.

"Thursday, May 18th, was a balmy, pleasant May day and we responded to reveille at about 1 A. M., and at 2 A. M. we joined the Stonewall Brigade on the street or road in the west part of Staunton. There was no tiresome delay, but the brigade moved westward on the road leading to Buffalo Gap, twelve miles distant. This was the same route over which I had passed with the 21st Virginia Regiment in June, 1861, on its way to western Virginia, and our first day's march was to Buffalo Gap, and I expected to halt there to-day. The old 21st was along to-day, but its impedimenta had disappeared. Each company did not have four large six-horse wagons furnished by the government and one extra hired by the company to carry trunks, etc., and each soldier did not start out with over 100 pounds on his back, to be gradually thrown away as the sun climbed higher until the road from Staunton to Buffalo Gap was lined by all kinds of articles, as in '61. The 21st only had one wagon and two ambulances with a shoulder kit of less than forty pounds in all wrapped in a blanket roll, through which the soldier's head stuck out, leaving it resting on his right shoulder and left hip. But each soldier did carry forty rounds of ammunition in his cartridge box, which he knew how to take care of and use properly. I doubt whether the whole of Jackson's army had as much impedimenta as the 21st had on leaving Staunton in 1861.

"Dr. Madison used to discuss the Corps with me from the surgeon's point of view, and he always acknowledged the inferiority of this rat corps physically to the corps that went to Richmond in 1861—the present personnel being so much younger and smaller—but he was forced to acknowledge its *esprit* to be wonderful. So the morning passed until a little after sunrise, when he halted at

Buffalo Gap near the splendid spring that bursts out about fifty feet below the railroad track. We had covered just what the 21st had covered in the same time thirteen months before, and, of course, I expected to go into camp; but in an hour we were under way again, following the same road we had traveled in 1861. We were taking a short rest now every hour, say twenty minutes, and then resuming our march. In about five hours we came to the very place where we camped in 1861 at the end of our second day out. The log blacksmith's shop that stood on the south side of the road just off a point of woods that was on the north side was there as natural as life. 'Now,' I thought, 'we are about twenty-four miles from Staunton this 8th day of May, 1862, and we will surely go into camp.' It was growing monotonous, and, though I did not like to own it, I was getting a little tired of carrying that musket and other toggery. But, no; we were called to attention and soon found ourselves climbing Shenandoah Mountain. The boys were beginning to feel the strain, but none of them so far had fallen by the wayside, though we saw several veterans of the Stonewall Brigade resting by the roadside and looking unhappy. Though I thought it took ages, we finally reached the top of Shenandoah Mountain and to the westward could see the valley of Cow Pasture River. We were now over thirty miles from Staunton, but on we went. It was down grade, and that brought another set of muscles into play, so that we reached Cow Pasture River in better shape. We crossed the river and ascended a hill, where in a pretty little valley near a small rivulet we filed to the left and went onto camp along with the brigade. Judge and the other cook, who had been riding in the commissary wagon turn about, had coffee directly, and I had two tin cupfuls of it, with some hardtack stowed away quickly. Then we all rolled up in our blankets and went off dozing and dreaming of 'the girls we left behind us.' It was probably an hour later when the beating of drums all around us called me to my feet. In an instant my clothes were adjusted and I was accoutered to march, for it was the long roll that was sounding. At the last tap of the drum the companies were fallen in and faced to the front. So far as I can remember the cadets were all present, but it was a peaked-looking crowd that faced to the right and took up the march along with the Stonewall Brigade, still to westward. Some of the boys were limping, but, though sore, we were much refreshed by that short rest. The blankets, etc., we were ordered to leave on the ground with the camp guard. The sun was getting low in the west, and I suppose it was about 5 P. M., when we took up the march toward McDowell. We were soon on top of the flat-topped hill that formed the divide between Cow Pasture and Bull Pasture rivers, and could hear continually and distinctly the fire of the infantry and occasionally of a cannon. It seemed to put new life into the boys as we pressed forward, and on reaching the

west slope of the hill we heard a band playing; a little later we passed it on the north side of the road. It was seldom that we heard a band playing like this on the eve of battle, but some one, knowing how fatigued we were, had ordered this to cheer us on to the fight. It was certainly doing its work well. As we progressed the firing gradually ceased; we were halted and a rest ordered, and finally marched back to our camp. I was certainly tired when at about midnight we filed to the right, marched to our bivouac, were given 'stack arms,' and dismissed. I was about five or six yards from my blankets when I fell to my knees and crawled to my blankets, wrapped them about me and fell asleep. So ended a forty-four-mile march of twenty-two hours.

"Friday, May 9th. I did not stir until 10 A. M., when I awoke at the tap of the drum. A summer sun was shining in my face and every bone in my body seemed to be aching. I was stiff and sore, and it required some will power to put the engine in motion, but by the time we had limped to reveille and washed our faces we were ready for our fried bacon, hardtack, and coffee. We were not allowed to stand about long before we were marching for the fifth time on that hill slope for McDowell. I don't think it was over four miles off, and as I remember we were there by 2 P. M., and were halted in the road opposite a nice brick house (Dr. Zollerman's?) with a blacksmith's shop across the way. I was looking for a place to sit in a lean-to at the west end of the smithy when I heard a slight noise and was at the road again just as a Federal field officer, followed by a colored man leading two horses, came out of the shop door. He looked more astonished than we did, but he soon came to himself, for the cadets swarmed about him, and he was being picked at as if he were a 'rat,' when Col. Shipp came jogging up on that old pot-bellied horse of his and took charge. He made us restore everything, and he and the colonel (?) rode away, the negro following, mounted on the other horse.

"It was decided directly that we would stop here overnight, and we stacked arms and were turned loose. I can not remember any house at McDowell save the brick one and the smithy. About a year previous I had been with the 21st when it camped here, back of the smithy, and I can not remember any houses at that time. On going to the brick house we found that the parlor had been used as a hospital; there was a dead man laid on top of the piano, and in the dining-room on the table there was a litter with a man on it. This man had a triangular hole knocked in the top of his head, and his brains had run out on the floor, leaving the front half of his skull entirely empty; yet he breathed, and when we gave him water from a sponge, that we found in his mouth, he sucked it vigorously, and opened his eyes. He was paralyzed for locomotion, and I think for sensation, too.

Dr. Madison came along and looked him over, and directed us to give no more water, for it was a hopeless case, and we were only prolonging misery. He died in about half an hour. His name was Hayden D. Runyon, of Eaton, Ohio, as we learned from the contents of his kit, which was on the floor under the table. I was ordered to make a detail from D Company and bury the two of them, which I did. They found a resting place under a big sugar maple along the bank of Cow Pasture River, and were covered by one blanket. I believe it was Glazebrook who read the Episcopal service over them. That night cadets slept everywhere in the brick house. And so ended the 9th of May, 1862.

"May 10, 1862. The whole army resumed march, pressing the enemy, who made a weak stand, causing a little delay. I can not recall where we bivouacked.

"Sunday, May 11, 1862. In hot pursuit of the enemy, who had set the woods on fire. As the wind blew our way, we were enveloped in it to such an extent as to obscure everything, and, getting in our eyes, it was very annoying. I can not remember where we camped, except that it was in a pretty valley with one or two houses.

"Monday, May 12, 1862. We rested to make up for Sunday. There was a large and very beautiful maple tree in a meadow at this camp, which was on the south fork of the Potomac, and under that tree I found Gen. Jackson, his staff, and a large number of soldiers holding public worship. Gen. Jackson remained standing and uncovered, and I had a fine opportunity of seeing him. It was my last chance until he was brought back to Lexington to be buried. I will own up to being more interested in that beloved "Round Head" than in all the parson's discourse. It was only a little after noon when the drums beat, and we soon gathered our effects and made the march back to McDowell. No one in that whole host knew what was in the mind of our general. I have no recollection of where we camped.

"Tuesday, May 13, 1862. We were on the march back to McDowell. I could not conceive how men could so quickly pass from what they were on the 8th to that quiet, steady-going army bent as one man on the hardest kind of work.

"Wednesday, May 14, 1862. We reached McDowell in the evening and camped. The other commands were to the eastward of us, and, I suppose, on Cow Pasture River. The cavalry had not yet come up. It was announced to us that our course was back to Staunton over the same route by which we had advanced. We camped on the bank of Bull Pasture River and had bread (corn pones), bacon, and no coffee. I could have wept for growley.

"Thursday, May 15th. The cadets were now all up and the ranks were well filled. The boys were full of enthusiasm, but not so full of anything else. Our clothing was getting worn and our shoes were playing out. Some of the cadets were using strips of cloth or strings to bind them to their feet. The soreness of muscles due to hard marching had worn off, and the cadets were in better shape for work than when they had marched out of Barracks. Some spoke openly of their disappointment at not being allowed to follow Jackson, for the Stonewall Brigade had petted us and bragged on our endurance, but they all reminded us that we were too young to leave our mothers, and ought to go home before the latter knew we were out, etc., etc.; and that was rather offensive to our dignity and our vanity, though always spoken in great kindness. From the battlefield to the bivouac of the 8th instant we passed over the same ground for the sixth time. There was one place that I remember very well where on the 8th we had met Gen. Johnson, wounded, and whenever we looked at Shenandoah Mountain as we approached it we were reminded that work lay before us right there. Occasionally we could distinguish Jackson's army as it climbed the mountain, but by ten o'clock the last of them seemed to have passed, and we were at the foot of the mountain. There was occasionally a straggler on the roadside, for Jackson's provost guard did not get every one of them; and occasionally I would see one who looked quite able to be in his place with his company. We camped that night about twenty miles, I think, from Staunton. Many of the cadets were in sorry plight for shoes, and for want of knowing how to tie a square knot they could not use such as they had to the best advantage. I tried to show some in D Company, but they took no interest.

"Friday, May 16, 1862. We broke camp early and struck out for Staunton. We had not gone far before the shoe matter became a serious one. Cadet after cadet began to ask to be allowed to leave the ranks, and, after holding them for a while longer, they were excused, with directions to reach Staunton as soon as practicable. Nothing of interest happened beyond this. We arrived in Staunton about 8 P. M., with say half our number present. Col. Shipp had preceded us and provided quarters in the second story of a large brick store that was vacant, and in front of it we were halted, faced to the front and ordered arms. It was simply perfect; every gun came down at once on the brick pavement. I have never forgotten that 'Order arms,' and I have had several other cadets speak to me about it. We were not detained long before we were dismissed to go to our quarters. Judge and his staff were on hand and the kettles of coffee awaited us. I tanked up on coffee, hardtack, and cold, boiled bacon that tasted so good that I forgot soldier's life at once. There were no roll calls until the following morning, and a

tired lot of cadets slept as sweetly on that hard floor as a king can sleep on a bed of down. During the night cadets continued to come in, but there were a few who did not come in until the next day.

"Saturday, May 17th. Reveille was held this morning a little after sunrise. The Corps formed and rolls were called on the second floor where we had slept. But little military duty was asked of us, and the most important thing was the issuing to us of soldier's shoes, good, broad heavy ones. I think that every man received a pair, and socks were issued when needed. We slept that night on the same floor, but it had turned hard during the day, and was not at all luxurious. Our clothing was now dry and the mud rubbed off as well as we could do so, and we went to sleep early.

"Sunday, May 18th. We began to have regular roll calls, and I do not remember that there were any absent. At B. R. C. it was announced that the Corps would attend church as usual:

A Company went to the Episcopal Church.
B Company went to the Presbyterian Church.
C Company went to the Baptist Church.
D Company went to the Methodist Church.

We did not look very natty, but the people received us with every sign of approval and esteem. Many of the cadets had friends at Staunton and dined out. Those of us who had not friends had dried-apple duff instead of raisin ditto, and some butter materialized. At night we slept again on the floor.

"Monday, May 19th. We left Staunton early in the morning, homeward bound. We went about halfway and camped for the night.

"Tuesday, May 20th. We resumed the march to Barracks. It was evident as we progressed that there was a large number of cadets who were loath to return, but I was not prepared for such a spirit as developed later. We reached Barracks before sundown, had supper in the mess hall, and slept in our own beds in Barracks.

"Wednesday, May 21st. We went through the form of academic work, I suppose as a matter of course. But nothing could have been better to divert the cadets' attention from war; though, like the McDowell campaign intended, as I suppose, to surfeit them with war, it did not work.

"Thus was the McDowell campaign brought to a close."

CHAPTER XIV

BACK TO WORK AGAIN—CHANCELLORSVILLE—"THE VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE WILL BE HEARD FROM TO-DAY"—THE BURIAL OF JACKSON

THE interruption incident to the participation of the Corps in the McDowell Campaign was a serious one, but the added repute of the Institute, accruing from this patriotic service, more than counterbalanced the loss in other respects. Every officer and cadet now understood that not only was the Institute relied upon by the Confederate Government to furnish the army with trained officers, but that as a military unit the Corps was regarded as capable of rendering valuable service in the field; and this knowledge added at least an inch to the stature of every cadet. In the public mind the Corps was likened more and more to the young Guard of France, and, though dangers surrounded it, people gladly entrusted their sons to the Institute where in time of universal danger the maximum protection was afforded, and every reasonable safeguard thrown about the youth of the South. They knew that the cadets would be subjected to no unnecessary dangers, and that, since eventually all must bear arms, it were better that the scions of the leading families should be prepared to enter the service with the prestige of a diploma from the most favored institution of the South. With proper military training, their service, though postponed, would be of far more value than it would be as immature conscripts. The Institute, then, was not merely regarded as a haven for the young, but as a certain means of insuring the future career of those subjected to the prescribed course of military training there.

In order to make up lost time, and better prepare cadets for their future work, it was decided by the

Board of Visitors that the usual summer encampment would be dispensed with, and examinations for the advancement of the classes held during the last two weeks of June. But, in spite of every precaution and the most rigid discipline, resignations and dismissals occurred which, before the middle of July, reduced the Corps to a total of but 188 cadets. Over 40 cadets were dropped from the rolls for absenting themselves without leave to join the armies in the field.

After the examinations proficient cadets were granted brief furloughs to visit their homes, while for all others, academic work was resumed, July 15th, and continued throughout the summer.

June 25th, Lieutenant Thomas M. Semmes was promoted Captain and Instructor of French, being relieved as Post-Adjutant by T. Henderson Smith, '61.

The new session was ordered to commence September 1st, and late in August, as usual, new cadets began to report for duty. Upon the reorganization of the Corps, over 200 cadets were present, the First Class numbering 12, the Second Class 16, and the Third 38, so that again the difficult task of maintaining a high state of military efficiency, with a comparatively green body of cadets, presented itself. And, again, there were constant losses and irregular accessions, to increase the difficulties of the work.

But the Superintendent and Commandant, as well as every other member of the faculty, essayed their tasks with the utmost seriousness of purpose, fully appreciating the importance of the work assigned them, and were favored by a long period of uninterrupted effort, for the fall of 1862, and the following winter were uneventful ones, as far as the Institute, in the consecutiveness of its work, was concerned.

The minds of all were of course deeply impressed by the momentous events transpiring in the outer world,—events brought home to Lexington by the frequent days of Thanksgiving promulgated by the President. Then there were the sacred rites which the Corps often per-

formed in honoring the memory of its gallant *élèves* who fell in battle, burying with military honors the fallen heroes whose remains were brought back to Lexington to be interred, and the mournful celebration of the glorious victory of Second Manassas where many former cadets fell, but where Jackson, and scores of graduates, had distinguished themselves. All these and similar incidents did not fail to heighten the spirit of consecration to duty which pervaded the Institute, and even the most careless and unthoughtful cadet was not free from the influences which they exerted. Verily, the Institute was hallowed by the sacrifices and the libations of blood which those who but recently tenanted its halls were offering up to their country. The spirit animating every officer and cadet is discernible in the following order:

"HEADQUARTERS, VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE,
"November 10, 1862.

"GENERAL ORDERS—No. 92.

"1. The twenty-third (23) anniversary of the Virginia Military Institute occurs to-morrow, November 11th, and, in honor of the day, there will be the usual suspension of Military and Academic duties.

"2. Each successive year has borne testimony to the increasing usefulness of the Institute. But the united voices of all previous years is faint in comparison with the voice of the single year, now just passed. This year has seen on every battlefield the graduates of the Institute fighting for the independence of our land, as privates in the ranks, or leading to the charge companies, regiments, and brigades. And on almost every field the record of their devoted valor is written in crimson lines; and it is not inappropriate on this anniversary to remember with allowable complacency that one who is at this moment a Professor of the Institute is one of the most distinguished leaders of the forces of the Southern Confederacy.

"In after years, the name of General Jackson will be associated with the Anniversary of Southern Independence.

"3. The customary artillery salute must be omitted—we have not more powder than we may be called upon at any day to use from shotted guns against the invader of our soil.

"By command of Colonel Preston,

"A. GOVAN HILL,
"Actg. Adjt., V. M. I."

Twenty-three years of service! It seems almost impossible that the School had been in existence so brief a period of years at this time, when its services were heralded North and South, as a primary factor in the defense of the Southland. How hard it is to realize that this great institution, which by its achievements had gained a rating as a School of Arms, second only to that of West Point, was after all but an infant,—an Alma Mater the hair of whose oldest son was not yet tinged with gray! It is almost beyond belief that those sons had not only bled upon the fields of Mexico, but were in 1862 claiming of right a lion's share in every victory of the Southern arms. Yet, when the facts are known,—facts utterly ignored by the historians of the past,—it is clearly seen that the fame of Jackson had been laid upon a foundation of youthful devotion which had its origin in Lexington, and not on the Hudson. Ewell and Garnett and Winder were West Pointers, it is true; but what of the innumerable colonels, and majors, and captains, and scores of subalterns, and dashing staff officers, who rode at the head of the regiments, companies and batteries, of the Army of the Valley?

If ever an army owed its prowess to a single source, it was the army which followed Stonewall Jackson in 1862. If ever a leader rested his fame upon a single influence, it was Jackson whose striking sobriquet was won and maintained for him by the blood and valour of his former pupils in the art of war.

But if the Institute had raised aloft the standard of "Stonewall" Jackson in 1861, and borne his victorious eagles through the Valley of Virginia in 1862, it was in the spring of 1863, that, at last, the immortal leader himself proclaimed to the world in undying words the tribute it had won.

Never more, let the Institute be charged with rattling the bones of Jackson—the West Pointer. He belongs to the Institute, and is a part of it.

In the west sally-port of the Barracks of the Virginia Military Institute hangs a bronze tablet dedicated to a great soldier by the men of Maryland who served in his command. Formerly, it hung in the old section-room on the second stoop, in the southwest tower of Barracks, where for many years he taught his classes.

On the cornice of the chancel in the Chapel dedicated to his memory, are these words which have been preserved from his lips—"You can be whatever you resolve to be."

Before that same sally-port, stands his heroic representation in bronze, among the very guns which surrounded him in battle and, over a half-century ago, bellowed forth the name of "Stonewall" Jackson to the world.

Beneath that stern monument, and before the muzzles of those ancient pieces, spreads out the martial field oft trodden by his feet; behind them rise stately walls which inclose a space hallowed by his erstwhile presence; and all about are things which remind us that, interwoven with the history of the Virginia Military Institute, is that of this world-famous soldier.

Influences, like static forces, when brought together are retroactive; and, so, we may inquire what was the influence exerted upon Jackson by this School, and what was the influence exerted upon this School by Jackson. The latter alone has received the attention of the world. The fame of Jackson has all but eclipsed the part played by others in the making of this story, and their contribution to his fame has been quite obscured by the glamour of his name. It is necessary to start at the beginning, if we are to make a correct analysis of the influences which we have likened unto retroactive forces.

Let us not disparage Jackson's service to the School, but let us preserve the facts. From 1851 to 1860, Major Thomas Jonathan Jackson was Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy. His sole connection with the tactical organization of the School was as In-

structor of Artillery. He was neither Commandant nor disciplinarian of the Corps, and when the guns of Sumter rang out over the breathless South, the 1,100 graduates and *élèves* of the Virginia Military Institute who were then living seized their arms and the Drill Manual of William Gilham.

It was in the stirring spring of 1861 that Jackson first came to the front in connection with the Corps. When it was ordered to Richmond in April to provide the drill-masters for the volunteers of the South, it was Jackson, not Gilham, who led the gallant Battalion of Cadets over the Blue Ridge and far away to unknown fields. Proud of their new leader, and loyal to him as one of their clan, yet, they were not of his making. Rather, had he become a commander through them, than they soldiers through him. It was the prestige which he had won here by years of preparation in our halls that won for him, at the hands of Virginia, his command at Harper's Ferry.

Before the first shots were exchanged on the soil of Virginia, we find that small army at Harper's Ferry hammered into shape, groaning under, but proud of, its discipline. But, it was not Jackson alone who wrought this result. He was but the head—the instrumentalities with which the work was done were the field-officers, the subalterns and the sprightly drill-masters recruited from among the *élèves* and the cadets of this institution. If there be a doubt in one's mind, let him read the regimental and the company rolls of the brigade which gave to its commander at First Manassas the name of "Stonewall." Then, let us ask if in truth it may be said Jackson made those men the "Stonewall Brigade," or those men made Jackson known to fame, as "Stonewall."

During the entire war, West Point contributed 282 officers to the Confederate Armies. Of this number, 150 were perhaps in the Army in Virginia. The records of the Institute, practically complete now, show that 3 major-generals, 18 brigadier-generals, 95 colonels, 65

lieutenant-colonels, 110 majors, 306 captains, and 221 lieutenants went forth from its halls to the battlefields of the war, and that an unduly large proportion followed the fortunes of Jackson, from first to last. Hence, how absurd is the fallacy of orators, when they declaim of the *citizen*-soldiery of the South—a soldiery the very backbone of which was trained in a School of Arms second, if at all, to but one other in existence, at the time. Jackson did not win his sobriquet with a mob of raw militia, suddenly, and, as if by the magic of his unknown name, transformed into an efficient fighting-machine. On the contrary, he commanded at First Manassas a body of troops which for weeks had been drilled and disciplined by a corps of officers, many of whom were the trained product of a master-hand. For twenty years, the very text of the drill-manual in their hands had been upon their lips.

One frequently finds the historian alluding to the ability of Jackson to exact extraordinary sacrifices of his officers and men, and endeavoring to analyze his character as a leader, in order to arrive at the reason for this exceptional power on his part. That he possessed a remarkable character, and unusual ability to command, is unquestioned. Indirectly, these traits explain his success; but there is a more direct explanation. Stonewall Jackson, besides being inherently great, had the good fortune to exercise command over, and to be associated with armies, the very backbone of which consisted of young men who had but recently borne to him the relation of the pupil to the beloved tutor. The full import of this fact becomes more apparent when it is recalled that nearly three hundred field-officers alone in the Army of Northern Virginia distributed among the three branches, besides nearly five hundred subalterns, had, for varying periods, been closely associated with him, and subjected to the influence of his personality, before they were called upon to follow and coöperate with him upon the field of war. They were his children, his wards, and knew each and every whim of their leader

for whom only the highest respect was entertained. In him, they reposed that sublime confidence which knows not reservation, content to rely upon the judgment of one who in the closest relations of life had never failed them in the past. Unconsciously, perhaps, but, if so, all the more thoroughly, they had absorbed his teachings, and become able to follow the habit of his mind. And, so, when his first successes crowned him with a halo of military glory, they who had already accorded him the fullest measure of confidence, enthroned him as the special object of their pride. From the very first, Jackson's success was redolent of glory for a host of followers holding him up to the admiring world as their own tutelary genius. So far as they were concerned, it was not an unknown general whose orders bade them follow, and suffer, and die upon the field of battle. Their leader was Major Jackson, and they were cadets as of yesterday, each vying with the others to merit the reward of his approving eye. The stern, and occasionally harsh, drill-master of former days was now become a leader of acknowledged ability, and they—the cadets—had become the company, the battery, the battalion, the regimental, yea, the brigade, leaders, in such numbers as to leaven the entire army, and to transmit to the whole, receptive as it was, their own spirit of pride and devotion.

Not only was this true, but to no one was it so well known as to Jackson himself. Conscious of the sincerity of his own purpose, confident of the power he held, and that no demand he might make would fail to elicit the fullest possible response from his men, in *this* spirit it was at Chancellorsville—the supreme hour of his life—having given his commands, he viewed with pride the army which swept before him to execute his bidding; and, in the joy of the commander who felt the responsive throb of his army's pulse, exclaimed, *"The Virginia Military Institute will be heard from to-day."* The remark is capable of but one reasonable interpretation. Other constructions may be placed upon it, but the true one is that Jackson, surrounded by Rodes, Colston, and

Crutchfield, all of whom had been his associates in the faculty, at the Institute, the last his pupil as well, and closely scrutinizing the countenances of his men as they filed past him, saw, in the faces of his youthful but seasoned field officers, something portentous of more than the usual *élan* of his troops. Yes, from the eyes of the regimental, battalion, and company leaders, a host of whom he had guided to manhood's estate, bearing as they were the burden of his fame, flashed a mute assurance that nothing save death would deter them, in obedience to his behest. And, so, when smitten by fate at the hour of his greatest glory, it was his children whose hearts were wrung with anguish as they gazed upon his fallen form. No mere loss of a heroic leader was this to an army, but a wound which tore the very heart-strings of his men, many of them regarding the blow as prescient of the future.

Without desiring, in any respect, to detract from the fame of the man, who, deprecating the advent of fratricidal strife, yet could throw away his scabbard, let us ask, where in all the history of war was there another so fortunately circumstanced as was Jackson? From a psychological viewpoint, he was certainly highly favored.

It has been reiterated by such military philosophers as Bülow, Jomini, Willisen, Clausewitz, Moltke, Von der Goltz, Henderson, and Balck, that the moral force is the preponderant one in war. The moral force which gives men the will-power to overcome all obstacles, to shrink from no danger, and to strive for victory at any cost, emanates from those sentiments which inspirit men to become courageous soldiers. "In a general way, these sentiments are, religious zeal, patriotism, enthusiasm for a commander, discipline, and, most of all, confidence resulting from experience."* If these be facts, let us apply them to the case under consideration.

The prestige of Jackson gave him complete moral ascendancy over his men; and that prestige was de-

*Psychology of War, Eltinge, p. 64.

cidedly the outgrowth of an experience which many of his subordinates had gained with him, his officers comprising the psychological or suggestive medium, by which the spirit of confidence in and enthusiasm for, the commander, was generated in his army.

"The best obeyed commanders are neither the best instructed, the most intelligent, the most paternal, nor the most severe, but are those who have innate or acquired prestige. . . . It is because of it that his suggestions take on an irresistible power, that he is able to throw his soldiers against the enemy in an enthusiastic assault, and that he can stop with a gesture the first fugitives, tranforming them into heroes."*

Now, let us follow him to the field of Chancellorsville, and see if the Virginia Military Institute did not figure in that crowning success of his career.

The great soldier had led his turning column across the face of Hooker's crouching army. He had reconnoitered the vulnerable flank of Howard's 11th Corps on the extreme right of the Federal position, and his well-formulated orders had been issued with the decision for which he was noted. It was then nearly five o'clock.

While the eager, but silent, Confederates were being deployed, their quick intelligence having already realized the situation, Jackson sat astride "Little Sorrel" abreast of his first line of battle. With his old slouch hat pulled well forward, and his lips tightly compressed, he calmly, but impatiently, awaited the completion of the dispositions for advance. Who shall know what were his feelings during this, the supreme, hour of his life? Certainly, few soldiers, since the world began, have been so situated. Less than half a mile before him lay the exposed flank of his enemy, entirely unprepared to meet the rush of his fiery battalions. It almost seemed that Fame, even had she never favored him before, had already spread over his shoulders the

*Ibid., p. 70. For Psychology of War see "Etudes sur le combat," Dupicq; Psychology du Combat de l'Infantere, Loque; Les Realities du Combat, Daudignac; Actual Experience in Warfare, Solaviev.

cloak of immortality. With that supreme confidence in himself, and a confidence in his men which few leaders have ever experienced in so high a degree, the hawk of the valley was deliberately spreading his pinions for the sudden swoop. On the familiar faces of his leaders he discerned only the expression which gladdened his heart, and forbade thought of failure. There were Rodes and Colston of the Institute faculty, in front, and in their divisions were not less than 200 brigade, regimental, battalion and company leaders, whom he had drilled upon the parade ground at Lexington, for this, the greatest maneuver of his life. On the right, at the head of the leading regiment of cavalry, was the dashing Munford, and in his rear, the brilliant Crutchfield in command of the artillery, both of whom had been his pupils, and the latter his associate in the faculty of Virginia's great School of Arms. Small wonder was it that the inspiration which animated the soul of the chieftain penetrated to the very core of his army!

In addition to the officers named, many other prominent actors in the battle of Chancellorsville had been cadets under Jackson. General James H. Lane, Captain J. T. Tosh, Colston's Assistant Adjutant-General; Colonel Thomas H. Carter, Chief of Artillery of Rodes's Division; Major H. A. Whiting, A. A. G. Rodes's Division; Colonel John M. Brockenbrough, commanding Heth's Brigade; Colonel R. M. Mayo, 47th Virginia; Colonel T. S. Garnett, 48th Virginia, commanding brigade; Colonel Frank Mallory, 55th Virginia, commanding brigade; Lieutenant-Colonel E. P. Taylor, 22d Virginia Battalion; General R. Lindsay Walker, Chief of Artillery, A. P. Hill's Division; Colonel Briscoe G. Baldwin, Chief of Ordnance, A. N. V.; Colonel R. W. Carter, 1st Virginia Cavalry; Colonel Thomas H. Owen, 3d Virginia Cavalry; and Colonel W. H. Payne, 4th Virginia Cavalry, were among the graduates of the Institute. Thus, it is seen that all four of Jackson's cavalry regiments, two of his divisions, and two battalions of his

artillery were commanded by former pupils, besides his leading brigades, and many batteries and regiments.* With these facts before us, can we wonder that he exclaimed, as he set his column in motion early in the morning, "The Virginia Military Institute will be heard from to-day"?

At five o'clock, Jackson asked General Rodes, "Are you ready?" "Yes", replied Rodes, who then nodded to the commander of the skirmish line. At 5:15 P. M. the signal for the general advance was given, and almost immediately Willis's skirmishers struck the Federal pickets along the pike, who fell back, giving the alarm. The Confederate bugles rang out all along the advancing line like the cry of wild fowl in the teeth of a gale. On, past the foremost skirmishers, dashed Breathed, with the leading section of his battery, and, unlimbering on the pike, with each of the two guns, fired a round of shell which raked the road and burst like wind-tossed flecks of spray from the crest of the onrushing wave.

Again, success crowned Jackson on this day; but while Chancellorsville marked his last feat of arms, it does not spell his final victory. Hooker had been driven across the Rappahannock; the tide of invasion had again been turned back; but the bullet which shattered the left arm of his lieutenant, had destroyed the right arm of Lee; for, on May 10th, the mighty Jackson succumbed, eight days after his wounding. But, Death, where was thy sting?

The story of his last hours on earth is one full of pathos, as well as of the most inspiring lessons for the soldier. In the hour of his death, he was as great as when, upon the various battlefields of his career, with exalted mien and superb composure, he led his men to victory. Concerning his wounding and death, Longstreet wrote: "The shock was a very severe one to men and officers, but the full extent of our loss was not felt until the remains of the beloved general had been sent home. The dark clouds of the future then began to

*In the 2nd Virginia Cavalry, Col. Munford commanding, were 23 officers who had been cadets.

lower above the Confederates." General Lee, in a note to the wounded general on the 3d, in the midst of the battle, had declared that could he have directed events, he should have chosen, for the good of the country, to have been disabled in Jackson's stead. In closing his message, he congratulated Jackson upon the victory his "skill and energy" had won; but the latter, expressing appreciation of his superior's remarks, declared that General Lee should give the praise to God, and not to him.

Soon after his wounding, he had been removed by order of General Lee to the Chandler house, near Guiney's Station, where Dr. McGuire did all in his power to save him; but on Thursday, the 7th, he developed pneumonia of the right lung, doubtless attributable to a fall from the litter the night he was wounded and carried from the field in the same ambulance with poor "Stape" Crutchfield. Fortunately, for his peace of mind, Mrs. Jackson arrived this day with her infant child, and took the place of his chaplain who had remained almost constantly with him. By Saturday, Doctors Hoge, Breckinridge, and Tucker, had joined McGuire in an effort to save him; and, noting their presence, he said to Dr. McGuire: "I see from the number of physicians that you think my condition is dangerous, but I thank God, if it is His will, that I am ready to go." When informed by Mrs. Jackson at daylight, the next morning, that he should prepare for the worst, he was silent for a moment, and then said: "It will be infinite gain to be translated to Heaven." And, so we see that, although this wonderful man still clung to a hope of recovery, his confidence in the future was as supreme as his self-confidence had been on earth. Never once did he express a doubt of his ability to rise superior to present difficulties, or to meet the future. His sole request was to be buried in Lexington, in the Valley of Virginia, where, as a simple and unassuming professor of the science of war, he had kept the smothered fire of his genius aglow, while preparing himself, and a host of

his pupils, for the inevitable struggle which he had foreseen. When told by his wife that before sundown he would be in Heaven, he called for Dr. McGuire, and asked him if he must die. To the affirmative answer he received, his reply was, "Very good, very good, it is all right." His efforts were then to comfort his heart-broken wife, and when Colonel "Sandie" Pendleton, of Lexington, entered his room about 1:00 P. M., he inquired who was preaching at headquarters on this, his last, Sabbath. Being informed that the whole army was praying for him, he said: "Thank God, they are very kind. It is the Lord's day; my wish is fulfilled. I have always desired to die on Sunday."

His mind now began to weaken, while his lips frequently muttered commands, as if he were on the field of battle—then words of comfort for his wife. When tendered a drink of brandy and water, he declined it, saying: "It will only delay my departure, and do no good. I want to preserve my mind, if possible, to the last." Again, he was told that but few hours remained for him, and, again, he replied feebly, but firmly: "Very good, it is all right."

In the delirium which preceded his death, he cried out: "Order A. P. Hill to prepare for action; pass the infantry to the front rapidly; tell Major Hawks"—then, pausing, a smile of ineffable sweetness spread over his pallid face, and with an expression as if of relief, he said: "No, no; let us cross over the river and rest under the shade of the trees." Then, without sign of pain, or the least struggle, his spirit passed onward and upward to God.

Such, were the final moments of the great soldier. With body all but cold in death, as long as his pulse continued, the dictates of his heart were pure. Almost to the instant that heart ceased to beat, his mind had given evidence of the quality of the man in the flash of the will, though now sub-conscious, which possessed his spirit. Still, his mind dwelt upon rapid action and the rush of the infantry, which ever filled his soul with joy; but,

COLONEL WILLIAM GILHAM

COMMANDANT OF CADETS 1846-1862
PROFESSOR 1846-1865

then, even in that last flicker of his intellect, he realized that the flag of truce had been raised by his enemies, and interposing the stay of his final words, "No, no—,"* he died in the happiness of the earthly victory he had won.

Let us be thankful that his men were preparing to rest upon their arms and were not engaged in the heated turmoil of the charge, when he bade them farewell. Let us be thankful that this dispensation was granted him by the Maker who gently led him to the shade of the riverside, where rested all those gallant youths who had preceded him. No longer were they his pupils, and his subordinates in war, but his equals in the Eternity of Peace.

At five o'clock P. M., May 12th, the following communication was received at the Institute:

"ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
"RICHMOND, VA., May 11, 1863.

"MAJOR-GENERAL F. H. SMITH,
"Superintendent, Virginia Military Institute.

"SIR—By command of the Governor, I have this day to perform the most painful duty of my official life, in announcing to you, and through you to the Faculty and Cadets of the Virginia Military Institute, the death of the great and good, the heroic and illustrious Lieutenant-General T. J. Jackson, at fifteen minutes past three o'clock, yesterday afternoon.

"This heavy bereavement over which every true heart within the bounds of the Confederacy mourns with inexpressible sorrow, must fall, if possible, with heavier force upon that noble State Institution to which he came from the battlefields of Mexico, and where he gave to his native State the first years' service of his modest and unobtrusive, but public-spirited and useful, life.

"It would be a senseless waste of words to attempt a eulogy upon this great among the greatest of the sons who have immortalized Virginia. To the Corps of Cadets of the Virginia Military Institute, what a legacy he has left you, what an example of all that is good and great and true in the character of a Christian soldier!'

"The Governor directs that the highest funeral honors be paid to his memory, and that the customary outward badges of mourning be worn by all the officers and cadets of the Institute.

"By command,

"W. H. RICHARDSON, *A.-G.*"

*According to Captain James Power Smith, Jackson's last remarks included the two words, *no, no*, and were not, as usually quoted, without those words.

And, so, but an earthly rite remained to those whom the great soldier had left behind. Far off from the scene of conflict, that youthful band, bound together then as it is now by the traditions of his fame, awaited, with lips compressed and watery eyes, the duty which of right they claimed, a privilege ungrudgingly accorded them by the world.

The news of General Jackson's death came as a shock to the Institute, and to the people of Lexington, where no one had thought seriously of the possibility of losing him. The grief in the community was intense, and everybody was in tears. Men had made an idol of their fellow being, and now God rebuked them. The beautiful sky, and the rich perfumed spring air of Lexington, seemed darkened by the oppressive sorrow everywhere to be seen.

Hear, now, the words which, with faltering voice, the Acting Adjutant read to the assembled Corps:

"HEADQUARTERS, VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE,
"May 18, 1863.

"GENERAL ORDERS—No. 30.

"It is the painful duty of the Superintendent to announce to the officers and cadets of this Institution the death of their late associate and Professor, Lieutenant-General Thomas J. Jackson. He died at Guiney's Station, Caroline County, Virginia, on the 10th inst., of pneumonia, after a short but violent illness, which supervened upon the severe wound received in the battle of Chancellorsville.

"A nation mourns the loss of General Jackson. First in the hearts of the brave men he has so often led to victory, there is not a home in the Confederacy that will not feel the loss, and lament it as a great national calamity. But our loss is distinctive. He was peculiarly our own. He came to us in 1851, a Lieutenant and Brevet-Major of Artillery from the Army of the late United States, upon the unanimous appointment of the Board of Visitors, as Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy and Instructor of Artillery. Here, he labored with scrupulous fidelity for ten years in the duties of these important offices. Here, he became a soldier of the Cross, and as an humble, conscientious and useful Christian man he established a character which has developed into the world-renowned Christian hero.

"On the 21st of April, upon the order of His Excellency, Governor Letcher, he left the Institute in command of the Corps of Cadets for Camp Lee, Richmond, for service in the defense of his State and country; and he has never known a day of rest until called by Divine command to cease from his labors.

"The military career of General Jackson fills the most brilliant and momentous page in the history of our country, and of the achievement of our arms, and he stands forth a colossal figure in this War of our Independence.

"His country now returns him to us—not as he was when he left us. His spirit has gone to God who gave it. His mutilated body comes back to us—to his home, to be laid by us in the tomb. Reverently and affectionately, we will discharge this last solemn duty, and,

" 'Though his earthly sun is set
Its light shall linger round us yet—
Bright, radiant, blest.'

"Young gentlemen of the Corps of Cadets, the memory of General Jackson is very precious to you. You know how faithfully, how conscientiously he discharged every duty. You know that he was emphatically a man of God, and that Christian principle impressed every act of his life. You know how he sustained the honor of our arms when he commanded at Harper's Ferry; how gallantly he repulsed Patterson at Hainesville; the invincible stand he made with the Stonewall Brigade at Manassas. You know the brilliant series of successes and victories which immortalized his Valley campaign, for many of you were under his standard at McDowell and pursued the discomfited Banks and Schenck to Franklin. You know his rapid march to the Chickahominy; how he turned the flank of McClellan at Gaines's Mill; his subsequent victory over Pope at Cedar Mountain; the part he bore in the great victory at Second Manassas; his investment and capture of Harper's Ferry; his rapid march and great conflict at Sharpsburg; and, when his last conflict was past, the tribute of the magnanimous Lee who would gladly have suffered in his own person, could he by that sacrifice have saved General Jackson, and to whom, alone, under God, he gave the whole glory of the great victory at Chancellorsville.

"Surely, the Virginia Military Institute has a precious inheritance in the memory of General Jackson. God gave him to us and to his country. God fitted him for his work, and, when his work was done, He called him to Himself. Submissive to the will of his Heavenly Father—it may be said of him that while in every heart there may be some mourning—his will was to do and suffer the will of God.

"Reverence the memory of such a man as General Jackson. Imitate his virtues, and, here, over his lifeless remains, reverently dedicate your service and life, if need be, in defense of that cause so dear to his heart—the cause for which he fought and bled—the cause in which he died.

"Let the Cadet Battery which he so long commanded honor his memory by half-hour guns to-morrow from sunrise to sunset, under the direction of the Commandant of Cadets.* Let his lecture-room be draped in mourning for the period of six months.

"Let the officers and cadets of the Institute wear the usual badge of mourning for the period of thirty days; and it is respectfully recommended to all the Alumni of the Institute to unite in this last tribute of respect to the memory of their late Professor.

"By command of Major-General Smith,

"A. G. HILL,
"Actg. Adjt., V. M. I."

Thursday evening, May 14th, the body of Jackson, accompanied by his wife and child, his former aide, Captain James Power Smith,** and a number of others, arrived at Lexington on a canal boat, which had transported the remains from Richmond *via* Lynchburg.† It was met by the Corps of Cadets and all the officers of the Institute, as well as the entire populace of the town, and escorted by the Corps to Barracks where the body was laid in state in the old tower Section Room, Number 39, in which Jackson had said, "If war must come, as a soldier I will welcome war!" That evening, at Retreat, the following order was read:

"HEADQUARTERS, VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE,
"May 14, 1863.

"GENERAL ORDERS—No. 37.

"1. The funeral of Lieutenant-General Jackson will take place to-morrow. Major Scott Shipp, Commandant of Cadets, will command the military escort, and direct the procession.

"2. The body will move from the Institute at 11 o'clock A. M.

"3. Half-hour guns will be fired from sunrise until the procession moves.

*There were now but five pieces in the battery. One howitzer had been lost in the Potomac by Milledge's Battery on the retreat from Sharpsburg. See report of General Pendleton on Sharpsburg Campaign. Rebellion Records.

**Living still, a distinguished minister of the Presbyterian Church.

†Col. James W. Massie was later designated to accompany Mrs. Jackson to her home in North Carolina.

"4. The Flags of the State and Confederacy will be displayed at half-mast during the day.

"By command of Major-General Smith,

"A. G. HILL,
"Actg. Adjt., V. M. I."

It was now, as the cadets with reversed arms and muffled drums, bore the remains of their martial divinity back to Barracks, that they first realized that Jackson was dead.

"Could it be possible? They had believed that he had a charmed life. The Institute had sent a host of magnificent officers to the front. There were Rodes, Mahone, Lindsay Walker, The Patton brothers, Lane, Crutchfield, McCausland, Colston, and many others of lower rank; but 'Old Jack' was, from his shoulders and upwards, tallest among the people, in the estimation of the cadets."

The Corps furnished sentinels from the Guard to keep the mournful vigil, while the people of the town and county thronged to the Barracks to view the remains. Men, women, and children wept over Jackson's bier as if his death were a personal affliction, and in the great Barracks the voice of the cadet was choked with sorrow. Flowers were piled high about the casket until it was hidden from view; and, the sun set brilliantly beyond the House Mountain, spreading its mellow light over the great parade ground, and piercing the casemate window of the embattled tower with its searching rays; the fragrant lilacs about the bier glistened in the fading hours of day as if wet with nature's tears and those of the heartbroken mourners who had borne them thither.

How jealously the young soldiers, detailed to guard the bier of Jackson through that night, prized the duty which befell them! But hundreds are even yet to come, who, in the still hours of the night, as they saunter back and forth upon the lonely sentry post, will, in spirit, guard the remains of Jackson—the sacred heritage of his erstwhile presence.

Friday, May 15th, the body was again escorted by the Corps, the Cadet Battery which he had commanded for ten years at the Institute, and in battle at First Manassas, comprising the Artillery escort, as ordered. The coffin, draped with the first Confederate flag ever made, presented by President Davis to Mrs. Jackson, was placed on one of the caissons upon which were heaped beautiful wreaths and wild flowers. The horses were led by the servants of the Institute acting as grooms.

The escort was commanded by the Commandant, Major Shipp, a former pupil of Jackson's, and, in addition to the battery, consisted of a regiment of infantry of which the cadets comprised eight companies; detached members of the Stonewall Brigade, one company; and a number of convalescent soldiers from the Institute hospital, one company. Two troops of cavalry of Sweeney's Squadron, Jenkins' command (many of its members being from Jackson's native section), by a strange coincidence, happened to be passing through Lexington from the West, just at the hour appointed for the procession to move! They halted, procured mourning for their colors, and joined the escort.

The military escort, followed by a great number of people, moved first to the Presbyterian Church where ceremonies, wonderfully pathetic in their simplicity and the strength of their appeal, were conducted, and then to the Cemetery where the remains were interred, with the military honors appropriate for a Lieutenant-General. But the crash of musketry and cannon was lost, for in the ears and hearts of those assembled rung the words of the funeral hymn—

"How blest the righteous when he dies!"

How fitting it was that the Chapel in which his lifeless body lay in state should be the Section-Room in which for ten long years he set so noble an example! How fitting is was that the hearse which bore to the grave all that was earthly of the great soldier-professor

should be a caisson of the battery he had so long commanded, with which he had trained the Confederate Artillery, and among the flashing guns of which he received his immortal sobriquet!

In the shadow of the Blue Ridge, on the gentle eminence commanding the loveliest view of the peaceful, picturesque vales beyond, and with the great House Mountain as his headstone, which, like a huge sentinel, stands guard beside the parade ground of his life, tenderly was his body laid to rest by the youthful soldiers he loved so well. But, still with the uncovered blade of immortality,—

> His spirit wraps yon dusky mountain,
> His memory sparkles o'er each fountain;
> The meanest rill, the mightiest river,
> Rolls, mingling his fame with theirs forever.*

Cadets of yesterday, what privileges were yours! What influences were these that entered into your lives! How we, to-day, envy you the exalting scenes amid which you wore the coatee, consoled only by the knowledge that you, and the noblest traditions of your deeds, belong to us, for all time. That you were not unworthy of your opportunities, your records show, and on the page of one we read:

"Next day, we buried him with pomp of war, the cadets his escort of honor; with minute guns and tolling bells, and most impressive circumstances, we bore him to his rest. But those ceremonies were to me far less impressive than walking post in that bare sentry room, in the still hours of night, reflecting that *there* lay all that was left of one whose name still thrilled the world."

The burial of Stonewall Jackson made a deep impression upon the Corps of Cadets, a body of youth to whom death was no longer strange. For months at the Institute, each day had dawned fraught with messages of blood and loss. Each hour had swelled the list of the Alumni who had fallen in the battles of their country.

*Paraphrase.

Before the summer of 1862, the following record was engraven upon the minds of every member of the Corps:

	Brig.-Gens.	Cols.	Lieut.-Cols.	Maj.	Capt.	Lieut.	Pri.
Killed or died	1	18	8	4	22	20	13— 86
Wounded ----	3	18	14	11	19	20	—— 85
Total -----	4	36	22	15	41	40	13—171

But this list was only indicative of the sacrifice yet to be made, and only partially shows the way in which the Institute was to repay to the State its debt of gratitude.*

It had been the custom of the cadets, when things went amiss in the army, to say, "Wait until 'Old Jack' gets there; he will straighten matters out." They felt, therefore, that his loss was irreparable. The cold face on which they had looked taught them lessons which the curriculum of no college taught—lessons which even the cadet of to-day pursues with the text-book of tradition in his hand.

*The Class of 1858, with 19 members alone, lost 7 in battle, and 3 lost limbs—Reid, Cutshaw, and Wilson.

CHAPTER XV

THE SUMMER OF 1863. AVERELL'S FIRST RAID—A NEW SESSION AND NEW ARMS

AFTER the death of Jackson, many cadets resolved to delay no longer gaining the necessary authority from their parents to enter the army, and some even without taking that step, resigned, or took "French" leave of the Institute, without waiting for the end of the session.

The annual examinations were ordered to begin June 22d, and, upon their termination on June 30th, the Corps was mustered and placed in camp, after a review before the Board of Visitors, and a board of army officers detailed by the War Department to inspect the Institute.* The Army Board consisted of Brigadier-Generals A. K. Lawton, A. G. Blanchard, R. E. Colston, and Roger A. Pryor.

On July 4th, the final exercises were held; ten cadets were graduated, and furloughs were granted the Second Class. The Corps now numbered 215 cadets, the largest number of *old* cadets ever mustered at the Institute up to that time.

Those familiar with the history of this period will not forget that on the 4th of July, 1863, when the final exercises at the Institute were being held, the great battle of Gettysburg had just been fought, and the surrender of Vicksburg was taking place.

After Lee's retreat from Pennsylvania, the cry for men to fill the depleted ranks was loud. Captain Wilfred E. Cutshaw, V. M. I., '58, a gallant artilleryman, temporarily incapacitated for active duty by a wound received in the battle of Winchester in 1862, had, under the orders of the War Department, reported for duty at the Institute on June 6th.

*S. O. No. 140, A. & I. C. O. June 12, 1863.

With such an officer present to command the Corps there was no pressing need for the Commandant to remain during the summer, and, without hesitating, he, together with Lieutenants H. A. Wise, and J. G. Miller, tactical officers, departed to join the army; John E. Roller, and Joseph B. Prince, just graduated, taking the places of the last two, as Assistant Professors. R. A. Crawford of this Class was later appointed a tactical officer, and subsequently died in the field.

During the dark days following Gettysburg, Scott Shipp, Commandant of Cadets, formerly Major, 21st Virginia Infantry, served as a private soldier in the 4th Virginia Cavalry.* Later, he was urged by all field officers of his old regiment except one to accept the colonelcy, but the Secretary of War would not allow him to do so as a single field officer would not waive his right to advancement. His sole desire was to serve where most needed. In those perilous times, men paid little heed to superficial marks of rank. Let it be remembered how he, whose frock coat bore the insignia of a field-officer of infantry, sprung into the saddle of the alert vidette to patrol the outposts, when the troops he might have commanded lay bleeding and resting in their camps. Such was the stuff of which this stern soldier was made; and when the gravest danger had passed, he reluctantly resumed his post at the Institute which a wounded comrade had filled in his absence.

The monotony of the summer camp, and drilling, was broken in August, when, on the 13th, Captain Cutshaw, the Acting Commandant, was directed at the request of General Colston, to furnish Captain R. D. Lilley (V. M. I.), District Enrolling Officer, with a detachment to round up a party of deserters.

The detachment consisting of 50 cadets under the command of Lieutenant Wise, who had returned to

*He was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel of the Institute, July 7th, 1863, by the Board of Visitors.

duty,* was ordered to scour the mountain haunts in the vicinity of Lexington, where many deserters were known to be in hiding. This was dangerous, though ignominious, duty, attended with many hardships and little prospect of a successful issue. The bold mountaineers were as little apt to surrender to the patrols without desperate resistance, if cornered, as they were to allow themselves to be apprehended in the rugged hill country every foot of which they had known since boyhood. The effort to apprehend the deserters and force them back into the ranks, where men were so greatly needed, was abandoned at the end of the second day, without mishap, or success, of any kind. Subsequently, the Corps was called upon to furnish detachments for similar work on a number of occasions.

Another incident, more stirring than deserter-hunting, occurred late in August.

On the 5th of August, Brigadier-General William W. Averell, commanding the 4th Separate Cavalry Brigade, 8th Army Corps, U. S. Army, set out from Winchester, Virginia, with about 3,500 men and 8 guns, on a raid the object of which was to destroy the various saltpetre works in the western part of Virginia. After skirmishes at Cold Spring Gap and Moorefield, West Virginia, on the 5th and 6th, he destroyed the saltpetre works near Franklin on the 19th, brushed the Confederate cavalry aside in a skirmish at Huntersville on the 22d, and again near Warm Springs, Virginia, on the 24th. His destination was then Covington, a point less than forty miles from Lexington.

Having driven the force under Colonel William L. Jackson, consisting of about 900 men, out of Pocahontas County, Averell determined to turn his column toward Lewisburg, in the hope that the movement up to Warm Springs had deceived the Confederates and led them to believe he was heading for Staunton. On the 25th,

*Resignation tendered July 4th, 1863, accepted July 7th, reappointed July 27th.

Colonel Shipp, or "Old Shipp", as the cadets called him, was frequently tendered commands in the field and constantly sought active service, but each time his resignation as Commandant was rejected and the greatest pressure brought to bear to keep him at the Institute.

after detaching a regiment back to Huntersville, he made a rapid march of 25 miles to Callaghan's, in Alleghany County, destroying the saltpetre works on Jackson's River, as he passed. From Callaghan's reconnoitering parties were sent out toward Covington and Sweet Springs. The saltpetre works near Covington were also destroyed, and a small wagon train captured.

On the morning of the 25th, Jackson's infantry was near Old Millboro, and his cavalry pickets near Bath Alum. His plan was, if Averell pressed him, to make a stand at Panther Gap, near Goshen Depot, and endeavor to hold that position until he could receive reinforcements from Lexington. With this plan in mind, he at once called on Colonel Edmondson, commanding the Home Guard in Lexington, and the Superintendent of the Institute, to support him. Accordingly, the following order was at once issued:

"HEADQUARTERS, VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE,
"August 25, 1863.

"SPECIAL ORDER—No. 155.

"1. An urgent call having been made by Brigadier-General W. L. Jackson, for reinforcements, and particularly for artillery, to enable him to repel a threatened attack by the enemy, upon the borders of this county, which, if successful, would expose the Institute, and the county, to the outrages of an unscrupulous foe, and the Home Guard of Lexington having promptly responded to this call, the Superintendent deems it his duty to make use of every available man of this Institution in this important defense. He considers this the only effectual means now at command to give safety and security to the public property committed to the charge of the Corps of Cadets.

"The Acting Commandant of Cadets, Captain W. E. Cutshaw, will immediately make a detail of four detachments of cadets to man four pieces of artillery, and to organize two companies of cadets as an infantry support, and he will march without delay and join the command of General Jackson, for such temporary duty as the emergency calls for.

"2. The Commissary will supply cooked rations for two days for the command, and additional uncooked rations for five days.

"3. The Quartermaster of the Confederate Stables has consented to supply horses for the Artillery.

"4. The Surgeon will make all necessary provisions for the care of the sick and disabled.

"5. The solemn responsibility which again withdraws the Corps of Cadets from their regular duties is an appeal to that patriotism which burns in every Southern heart. The Superintendent confidently relies upon the courage and fidelity of this command in all the duties to which they may be called. He shares their dangers and their hardships with them, and he trusts they may soon be privileged to return to their post of duty.

"By command of Major-General F. H. Smith.

"A. G. HILL,
"Actg. Adjt., V. M. I."

Leaving Lexington about noon on the 25th, with two cadet companies, and the four 6-pounders, Captain Cutshaw bivouacked at Rockbridge Baths, 11 miles, that night, reaching Goshen, 10 miles, early on the 26th, preceded by Colonel Edmondson with two companies of Home Guards, numbering about forty men.

On reaching Goshen, General Smith, who accompanied the Corps, was informed by Colonel W. L. Jackson that the enemy had fallen back, the main column to Pocahontas, some cavalry taking the Hot Springs road toward Greenbrier. Later, a dispatch was received from Jackson, who was at Millboro, asking General Smith and Colonel Edmondson to coöperate with him in making a diversion to prevent the enemy from attacking Lewisburg, and begging, especially, that the cadet artillery be loaned him.

While willing enough to risk battle in the defense of Lexington and the Institute, the Superintendent recalled too well the action of the Governor and the Board of Visitors, in connection with the McDowell affair, to authorize the participation of the cadets in offensive field operations.

To Colonel Jackson's request he, therefore, replied that he did not feel authorized to take the cadets upon any military operations, except in protection of the State property they were supposed to guard; but believing that this protection could best be rendered by the support of the Confederate troops at Panther Gap,

he had promptly moved forward to that point. He also stated that he feared to leave Lexington unprotected longer, without the express orders of the Governor, and that a dispatch from Colonel Nadenboush, commanding at Staunton, informed him that General Imboden had sent forward reinforcements.

Notwithstanding the strong pressure brought to bear on him by the citizens of Bath County and the neighborhood of Goshen to let the cadets accompany Jackson, the Superintendent ordered the Corps back that night to Rockbridge Alum Springs, and the Home Guards followed. Bivouacking for the night at the Alum, the Corps reached Barracks at 5 P. M. on the 27th, after a march of twenty miles during that day, and about fifty miles since leaving Lexington on the 25th.

The Cadet command on this occasion was largely composed of new cadets, the First Class having graduated, and the Second Class being on furlough, and it was miserably armed and shod.

At Rocky Gap, near White Sulphur Springs, Averell was checked by Colonel Jackson's command, and the First Brigade, Army of Western Virginia, under the gallant Colonel George S. Patton, V. M. I., '52. After suffering severe loss, the Federal raiding column retreated to Beverly, West Virginia, having covered nearly 700 miles in less than thirty days; and the threatened danger to Lexington and the Institute was past.*

On the 28th of August, Captain Cutshaw received orders to rejoin his command, having been promoted Major of Artillery, and Lieutenant-Colonel Shipp, who had returned, resumed his duties as Commandant of Cadets.

The Corps had marched 50 miles without seeing hair or hide of an enemy. The weather in the mountains in late August is always cool during the nights, but in

*See Reports of Brigadier-General Averell, Major-General Samuel Jones, Commanding Department of Western Virginia, Col. William L. Jackson, and Col. George S. Patton, Rebellion Records, Series I, Vol. XXIX, Part I, pp. 32-52.

1863 it was unusually so. Poorly shod, and with clothing entirely inadequate for field service at such a season, the cadets suffered extremely from the chillness of the weather, and found little in the experience to compensate for the hardships they were called upon to endure. Nevertheless, the fact that the Corps was regarded by the military authorities as always ready and available for service, was a matter of pride to the cadets and proved a valuable handle to discipline. The experiences of the Corps at Charles Town in 1859, Camp Lee in 1861, McDowell in 1862, and on the occasion of Averell's raid in August, 1863, instilled in the body of cadets an *esprit de corps* productive of the best results. Not one of the young soldiers but felt the satisfaction of having borne arms in the service of his country, and though they had never yet been in action, as a unit, they knew that they were but temporarily withheld from active duty in the field, in order that soon they might render a higher service as officers, and emulate the noble examples on the field of battle of those who daily went forth to the army from their midst.

Notwithstanding the drain upon the South for men, and the fact that the cradle was being literally robbed, new cadets continued to report for duty throughout the summer of 1863; so that when the Corps broke camp, September 1st, it numbered about 275 cadets, this being the largest enrollment in the history of the Institute, up to that time. Of the 500 applicants, only 127 could be received.

Impressed with the inefficiency of the arms with which the Corps was provided, in the recent field service, the Superintendent, upon his return from Goshen, at once addressed the Adjutant-General on the subject.

Upon the reorganization of the Corps, January 1, 1862, he had urged that 36 horses be provided the Institute for the use of the battery in order that better artillery instruction might be given; but the scarcity of animals had prevented compliance with this wise suggestion.

The artillery material of the battery still consisted of the four 6-pounder smooth-bore brass guns, and one 12-pounder Howitzer, the other having been lost in the Potomac by Milledge's Battery, as said before, on the retreat from Sharpsburg. The small arms consisted of old smooth-bore muskets. Accordingly he forwarded a requisition for two rifled field guns, such as the Corps had turned over to the Ordnance Officer at Camp Lee, and 200 rifled muskets, with 400 rounds of fixed artillery ammunition, and about 20,000 rounds of musket cartridges.

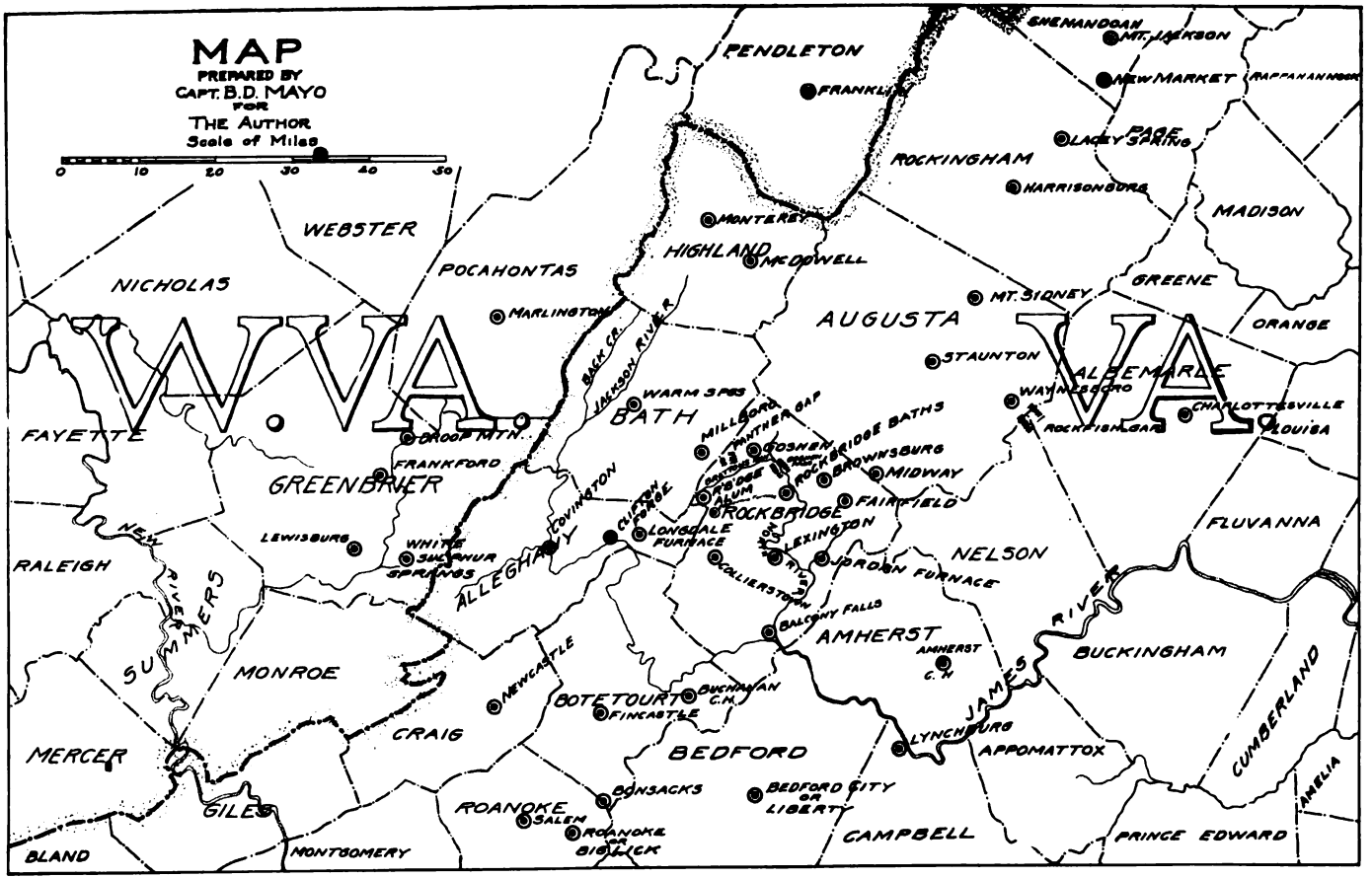
"If the Governor has no means within his power to order these munitions from the ordnance department of Virginia, I think it probable a plain statement of the facts of the case would cause the President to order the same from the ordnance department of the Confederate States.

"Had the enemy continued to force Colonel Jackson towards Panther Gap, the cadets would have given him support at that point. But how unequally would they have been called upon to render the necessary duty? Exposed to the Parrott guns and Enfield rifles of the enemy, this battery would have been disabled before coming within effective range for this service, while the cannoneers would have been picked off by the sharp-shooters, without the means of reply. These mountain passes may be readily guarded; and if my application is favorably and promptly met, this county will be fully guarded."*

In his report of the part borne by the cadets in the Averell raid, the Superintendent also said:

"And now, while matters are taking the direction of greater pressure from the enemy, I should be pleased to receive *specific directions* from the Governor, and Board of Visitors, and Adjutant-General, as to my duty in these emergencies crowding as they do upon us, in a moment of panic. I want to do my *whole duty*, but before doing it, *I must know what that duty is.*"**

*General Francis H. Smith, to Adjutant-General of Virginia, August 28, 1863.
**Letter of August 27, 1863.


MAP
PREPARED BY
CAPT. B.D. MAYO
FOR
THE AUTHOR
Scale of Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50
WVA
VA
PENDLETON
SHENANDOAH
MT. JACKSON
NEW MARKET
RAPPAHANNOCK
FRANKLIN
PAGE
LURAY
SPRING
ROCKINGHAM
HARRISONBURG
MADISON
WEBSTER
MONTEREY
HIGHLAND
MCDOWELL
NICHOLAS
POCAHONTAS
MT. SIDNEY
GREENE
AUGUSTA
MARLINGTON
BACK CR.
JACKSON RIVER
STAUNTON
ORANGE
ALBEMARLE
WARM SPRS
BATH
WAYNESBORO
CHARLOTTESVILLE
ROCKFISH GAP
LOUISA
FAYETTE
DROOP MTN.
MILLBORO
SWITZER GAP
GOSHEN
ROCKBRIDGE BATHS
FRANKFORD
GREENBRIER
ROCKBRIDGE ALUM SPRINGS
BROWNSBURG
MIDWAY
FAIRFIELD
FLUVANNA
COVINGTON
CLIFTON FORGE
LONGDALE FURNACE
ROCKBRIDGE
LEXINGTON
NEW RIVER
LEWISBURG
WHITE SULPHUR SPRINGS
ALLEGHANY
NELSON
RALEIGH
COLLIERSTOWN
BROWN FURNACE
BALCONY FALLS
AMHERST
AMHERST C.H.
SUMMERS
MONROE
NEWCASTLE
BUCHANAN C.H.
BOTETOURT
FINCASTLE
JAMES RIVER
BUCKINGHAM
CUMBERLAND
CRAIG
LYNCHBURG
APPOMATTOX
MERCER
BEDFORD
ONSACKS
BEDFORD CITY OR LIBERTY
ROANOKE
SALEM
ROANOKE OR BIG LICK
CAMPBELL
AMELIA
GILES
BLAND
MONTGOMERY
PRINCE EDWARD

In reply, the following letter was received:

"ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE, VA.,
September 4, 1863.

"GENERAL—Your reports of the 25th, 27th and 28th ultimo have been received, and laid before the Governor by whom I am instructed to say that he highly approves your prompt and energetic action in moving the Corps of Cadets to the support of Col. William L. Jackson, when pressed by the enemy at a point where their success might have endangered the Institute and public property in your charge, the emergency admitting of no delay for orders.

"To disembarrass you of all doubts and difficulties which may grow out of the movements of the enemy in that portion of the State, and appreciating in its fullest force the necessity of determining, as you request, what your duty is, or may be, in any contingency, the Governor decides that, although general military service is not due from the Corps of Cadets to the State, yet, that the Corps, to the extent of guarding and defending the Military Institute, and other public property connected with it, being a part of the military establishment of the State, may, and must, be used for that purpose, when the necessity arises; and whether that defense be necessary upon the spot, or at a distance even of fifty miles, *that* does not affect or impair the obligation to meet the duty as the guard of the Institution.

"Emergencies may arise at any time, while a state of war exists, which may compel you to make the defense of the Institute at some other and distant point, or points. Of this, the Governor desires me to say that you must of necessity decide, when there is no time to communicate with the Commander-in-Chief. Your own military attainments and experience, in his estimation, will always enable you, better than he can do at a distance, to determine upon the time, the place, and the measure of such defense as may be needful. It is scarcely necessary to add that needless exposure of the Corps of Cadets shall be carefully avoided.

"You will act in accordance with these instructions until further orders, unless some legislative action shall otherwise determine.

"The armament of the Corps of Cadets will be improved to the extent of means at the Governor's control.

"By command,

"WM. H. RICHARDSON,
"*Adjt.-General.*

"Major-General F. H. Smith,
"Supt. V. M. Institute."

These instructions were broad, and allowed the Superintendent a discretion which, we shall see, was fully exercised.

Perceiving the danger to which the Institute was exposed, and the excellent service it was capable of rendering, in the defense of Lexington, and other exposed points which the forces under Major-General Samuel Jones, commanding the Department of the West, and those under Imboden in the Valley District, were not always capable of guarding, the Governor not only authorized the Superintendent to supplement the efforts of the Home Guard companies which at this time were being encouraged all through the State, but directed the issue of better arms to the Corps.

Accordingly, two captured, U. S. Ordnance rifled field pieces, and 200 rifled muskets were soon shipped to the Institute from Lynchburg, and, throughout the remainder of the war, comprised the armament of the Corps of Cadets.

During the summer of 1863, other ordnance had also been received at the Institute, but these guns were unserviceable and procured by the Superintendent merely as ornamental relics.

For years, there had been stored in the Arsenal at Richmond a number of bronze French guns of the most superb pattern. Cast in the reign of Louis XIV, who was noted for his elaborate ordnance, they had been sent to Virginia by Lafayette with other arms, during the Revolutionary War. In 1862, so scarce was the supply of gun metal that the old French guns were being melted up at the Tredegar Works, and recast into howitzers. Upon learning of this desecration, General Smith, with the aid of General Richardson, secured for the Institute the remaining guns which included two 6-pounders, two 9-pounders, and two 24-pounders, all of which were at once mounted on stone pedestals in front of the Cadet Barracks.

It so happened, and by an odd coincidence, that two other relic guns were also received, these 6-pounder pieces having been cast at the Tredegar Works in March, 1862, from the metal obtained from six of the large French guns referred to. By order of the Gover-

nor, they were issued to the famous Letcher Battery of Richmond (named in his honor), of which Greenlee Davidson, of Lexington, was the captain, and Charles Ellis Munford, John Tyler, Thomas A. Brander, and William E. Tanner, the lieutenants. They were first used at Mechanicsville, June 26, 1862, next at Malvern Hill where Lieutenant Munford was killed, and one of them was used at Warrenton Springs, Second Manassas, Harper's Ferry, and Fredericksburg.

The Letcher Battery was rearmed with rifles captured at Harper's Ferry, and, after the gallant death of Captain Davidson at Chancellorsville, the two brass veterans were presented to the Institute by the officers of the battery, as a memorial to their former commander, and mounted side by side with the sister pieces of those from which they were cast. They still remain in front of Barracks.

CHAPTER XVI

GETTYSBURG AND THE V. M. I. IN PICKETT'S CHARGE—LATIMER, THE "BOY MAJOR"

GETTYSBURG! What days were those when the earth reeled and the heavens rocked beneath the blows of the struggling Titans!

Not alone at First and Second Manassas, throughout the Valley campaign, at Sharpsburg, Fredericksburg, and Chancellorsville, had the Institute played a leading rôle, for, while there was no Jackson left to testify to their deeds, on no battlefield of the war,—Chancellorsville not excepted,—did the graduates of the Institute play so prominent a part as on that of Gettysburg.

It would be impracticable to enumerate the deeds of them all. It will suffice to mention a few, and claim for the Institute its just share in what has been said to be the most heroic feat of arms in the great war of 1861-65.

Accordingly, the organization of Pickett's Division will be given, and the V. M. I. field-officers therein, enumerated.

GARNETT'S BRIGADE.

8th Virginia, Lieut.-Col. Norborne Berkeley, '48, commanding (after Colonel Eppa Hunton was wounded).
18th Virginia, Lieut.-Col. H. A. Carrington, '51, commanding.
Major Edwin G. Wall, '48.
19th Virginia, Col. Henry Gantt, '51, commanding.
Lieut.-Col. John T. Ellis, '48.
Major Waller M. Boyd, '61.
28th Virginia, Col. Robert C. Allen, '55, commanding.
Major William L. Wingfield, '59.
Major Nathaniel C. Wilson, '58.
56th Virginia, Col. William D. Stuart, '50, commanding.
Lieut.-Col. Philip P. Slaughter, '51.

ARMISTEAD'S BRIGADE.

9th Virginia, Lieut.-Col. Jasper J. Phillips, '53.*
Major Mark B. Hardin, '58.
14th Virginia, ——— ———.
38th Virginia, Col. Edward C. Edmonds, '58, commanding.
53d Virginia, Lieut.-Col. Edgar B. Montague, '55, commanding.
57th Virginia, Col. John B. Magruder, '61, commanding.

KEMPER'S BRIGADE.

Col. Joseph Mayo, '52, commanding (after General Kemper was wounded).
1st Virginia, Col. Lewis B. Williams, '55, commanding.
Major George F. Norton, '60.
3d Virginia, Col. Joseph Mayo, '52, commanding.
Lieut.-Col. Alexander D. Callcote, '51.
Major William H. Pryor, '48.
7th Virginia, Col. Waller Tazewell Patton, '55, commanding.
Lieut.-Col. C. C. Flowerree, '61.
11th Virginia, Major Kirkwood Otey, '49, commanding.
24th Virginia, Col. William R. Terry, '50, commanding.
Major Joseph A. Hambrick, '57.
Capt. J. R. Hammett, '61.

It will be observed that every one of the fifteen regiments of Pickett's famous divisions, except two, the 9th and 14th Virginia, was commanded by a graduate of the Institute; besides Kemper's Brigade, after the wounding of Brigadier-General James L. Kemper. Colonel Eppa Hunton, 8th Virginia, who was not a graduate, was wounded early in the charge.

Furthermore, it is to be noted that of the large number of field-officers who were struck down eighteen were graduates, namely,—

Carrington, Gantt, Mayo, Otey, Terry, Phillips, Hambrick,** Norton, and Slaughter (never fully recovered), wounded; and Ellis, Allen, Stuart, Edmonds, Magruder, Williams, Callcote, Patton, and Wilson, killed; and thirteen commanded regiments in the bloody battle.

In the fifteen regiments of Pickett's Division, there were twenty-seven field-officers among the graduates,

*Promoted Colonel of 9th, *vice* Owens killed at Gettysburg.
**Later killed at Drewry's Bluff.

and many captains and lieutenants commanding battalions and companies whose names are not given; besides the following named staff officers, to wit: Major Walter H. Harrison, Assistant Adjutant-General, Pickett's Division; Captain William T. Fry, Assistant Adjutant-General, Kemper's Brigade; and Captain William L. Randolph, Ordnance Officer, Armistead's Brigade.

In Wilcox's, Mahone's, Wright's, Posey's, and Perry's Brigades of Anderson's Division, and Pettigrew's, Brockenbrough's, Archer's, and Davis's Brigades of Heth's Division (all of which were partially engaged in the great assault), were also many graduates, among whom may be mentioned Brigadier-General William Mahone; Lieutenant-Colonel George E. Tayloe, 10th Alabama; Lieutenant-Colonel James A. Broome, 14th Alabama; Major Robert B. Taylor, and Lieutenant-Colonel Henry W. Williamson, 6th Virginia; Colonel Joseph H. Ham, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry T. Parrish, and Major Richard O. Whitehead, 16th Virginia; Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph P. Minetree, and Major Francis W. Smith, 41st, Virginia; Colonel James K. Marshall, commanding 1st Brigade, Heth's Division, Colonel Henry K. Burgwyn, Jr., 26th N. C.; Colonel J. M. Brockenbrough commanding 2d Brigade Heth's Division, Colonel Robert M. Mayo, Lieutenant-Colonel William J. Green, Major Edward P. Tayloe, and Major Charles J. Green, 47th Virginia; Colonel George S. Patton, and Major Isaac W. Smith, 22d Virginia; and Major J. Q. A. Richardson, 52d North Carolina.

In the battle of Gettysburg, the following graduates, or ex-cadets, are known to have sealed their devotion with their lives:

Colonels Robert C. Allen, Henry K. Burgwyn, Jr., William D. Stuart, E. C. Edmonds, John B. Magruder, Lewis B. Williams, Waller Tazewell Patton, James K. Marshall; Lieutenant-Colonels John T. Ellis and Alexander D. Callcote; Majors N. Claiborne Wilson and

J. Q. A. Richardson; Captain Richard C. Logan; Lieutenants W. H. Bray, John C. Niemeyer, and Edward A. Rhodes, and Sergeant Thomas B. Tredway.

Colonel Patton was not killed outright, although his wound proved to be a mortal one. Shot in the mouth he was carried to the College Hospital, at Gettysburg, where he expired on the 21st of July. During his last days, he could not speak, but wrote with a firm hand upon a slate, "My trust is in the merits of Jesus Christ; my all is intrusted to Him." The prominent thoughts in his mind were his mother, his Saviour, and his Country. To his mother this gallant officer, but twenty-nine years of age and a member of the Virginia Senate, wrote, a few days before his death, "My sufferings and hardships during the two weeks that I was kept out in the field hospital were very great. I assure you that it was the greatest consolation, while lying in pain on the cold, damp ground, to look up to that God to whom you so constantly directed my thoughts in infancy and boyhood, and feel that I was His son by adoption. When friends are far away, and you are in sickness and sorrow, how delightful to be able to contemplate the wonderful salvation unfolded in the Bible! Whilst I have been very far from being a consistent Christian, I have never let go my hope in Jesus, and find it inexpressibly dear now. I write these things to show you my spiritual condition, and to ask your prayers continually for me." Again he said, "Tell my mother that I am about to die in a foreign land; but cherish the same intense affection for her as ever." He told the young lady who nursed him, that though he was "a young man, and cherished life," he would "cheerfully lay down fifty lives in such a cause if necessary."

One other act of heroism should be mentioned—the act of an humble lieutenant, John C. Niemeyer of the Class of '61. While moving forward, his regiment, the 9th Virginia, was halted three times and dressed under a galling fire. After the last halt, it moved forward in a superb line. The young lieutenant, at the head

of his company, turned and called down the line to a brother officer, and former classmate at the Institute, "John, what a beautiful line!" As he spoke, a bullet pierced his brain, and he fell with a smile upon his lips, no doubt happy in the perfect drill of his men. The body of the gallant lad was never recovered and lies buried at Gettysburg in some unknown grave.

Such incidents as this illustrate the character of the subalterns who led the troops in Pickett's charge—those humble leaders who reach the flaming breastworks first, but see the laurel crowns on other heads.

While Colonel Joseph White Latimer took no part in the most dramatic incident of Gettysburg, to write of that battle in such a work as this without referring to his name would be improper, for no more brilliant name illumines the military annals of the Institute.

Born in August, 1843, he entered the Institute in 1859, and was a Third Classman when the Corps was ordered to Camp Lee in 1861. He was at this time assigned as drill-master to the "Hampden Battery," commanded by Captain Laurence S. Marye. In September he was assigned as a lieutenant to the Richmond "Courtney Battery," and his first active service was in pursuit of the Federals after Second Manassas, when he with his own boyish hands, but with the intrepidity of the most seasoned veteran, plied a gun throughout the day. That night, as he snuggled to his captain under a single blanket, he said: "Well, Captain, I feel so thankful that I have passed through this fight as well as I have." Thinking he meant that he was glad he had not been hurt, the older officer said that he too was thankful. "Oh, no; I don't mean that; I rather wish I had received a small wound, so I might see how I would bear it. What I meant is this: I was so glad I was able to stay at my post, and do my duty during the fight, and not run away. I have always wondered how I would feel in a fight, and, sometimes, have felt a little afraid that I would not be able to control myself, perhaps, and might do something that would dis-

grace me. But I have tried it now, and find that I can stand, and have no uneasiness for the future." Such, was the youthful soldier's reply,—words which evidenced that sublime moral courage which was to make him famous on many battlefields.

In the spring of 1862, the men of the battery elected young Latimer first lieutenant. Brevetted for gallantry in action at Cross Keys, he was regularly commissioned captain after the Seven Days' fighting, and major in April, 1863, at the age of nineteen.

General Jackson, his old artillery instructor, had mentioned him in orders for his gallantry in the Valley Campaign; and General Ewell, who greatly loved him, spoke of the "Boy-Major" as his "little Napoleon."

In the Gettysburg Campaign, he commanded Andrews's Battalion, Ewell's Corps. On the 2d of July, that battalion occupied an exposed position on the extreme Confederate left, opposite Culp's Hill and the heavy Federal batteries posted on Cemetery Hill. His command was literally torn to pieces in the unequal duel in which it unflinchingly engaged; but ordering the injured guns to the rear, Major Latimer remained with the others. His officers implored him to dismount and seek cover; but this he refused to do, as he wished to be prepared to dash forward with his remaining guns, at the first opportunity. While gallantly cheering on his cannoneers at their desperate work, he fell from his horse with his right arm shattered by a fragment of shell. As he was drawn from beneath his mount, and carried from the field, he held up the stump of his mangled arm, and in a clear and steady voice exhorted his men to fight harder than ever, to avenge his loss.

After the amputation, which was immediately performed, he was taken to Winchester, and from there, on the 22d of July, to Harrisonburg. He lingered until August 1st, "when, just as the morning sun was shedding its light o'er earth and sky, his spirit passed away."

Just before his death, he declared that he was not afraid to die, "for," said he, "my trust is in God." The day before this, he was asked by the chaplain upon what be based his hopes for the future. "Not on good works," he replied, "but on the merits of Jesus Christ alone."

So passed away as noble a spirit as ever dwelt in human frame, a spirit worthy of that of Jackson. It is consoling to believe that in Heaven the "Boy-Major" has received his reward, resting side by side with his immortal tutor-in-arms. His life on earth was life but just begun; for, surely, there is no death for one so pure, so gallant and so young.

The artillery appealed with special force to the graduates of the Institute. In that branch of the service, the Institute produced Brigadier-General R. Lindsay Walker, Colonel Stapleton Crutchfield, Colonel Thomas H. Carter, Colonel John R. Waddy, Lieutenant-Colonel Francis W. Smith, Lieutenant-Colonel Wilfred E. Cutshaw, Colonel Briscoe G. Baldwin, Lieutenant-Colonel J. Jaquelin Smith, Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Preston Chew, Major A. R. H. Ranson, Major Daniel Trueheart, Major James W. Thomson, Major P. B. Stanard, Major Marcellus N. Moorman, Major D. W. Flowerree, Major J. McD. Carrington, and other field officers of note, most of whom were senior in rank to Major Latimer, but none of whom could boast a more gallant career than that of the "Boy-Major," who was, perhaps, the youngest artillery field-officer in either army.

On the brow of Cemetery Hill there stands to-day a monument designed to mark for posterity the high-tide level of the Confederacy. Swelling upward until it flooded over the hostile boundary, the great Southern tide surged forward until it reached that height, and then, subsiding, bore back with the wash of the waters the flotsam of an army wrecked on the reef of fate. And, as they look upon that fateful reef, stained with the blood of Pickett's men, where now a hundred tombs remain like the jetsam of the wreck, let V. M. I. men

draw inspiration from the scene, and recall that it was not Pickett, not Armistead, not Garnett, not Kemper, of West Point, alone, who, with its full set sails, drove the Confederate ship upon that shore; but Allen, Stuart, Burgwyn, Edmonds, Magruder, Williams, Patton, Ellis, Marshall, Callcote, Wilson, Richardson, and the others who perished in the storm, and a host of their Institute comrades among the other field-officers of that gallant army. Armistead and Garnett were of heroic mold; but history can not forget they were but two of many. Nor can it be successfully denied that Pickett's charge was actually led by graduates of the V. M. I.; for the soldier knows that it is the colonels and the majors and the captains, who carry their men through the confusion of the cannon-swept field, however, inspiring the presence of the general may be before the charge is launched.

With such facts before us as those given, may we ask, is it conceit for the Institute to read between the lines which the historians of Gettysburg have written, the real story of Pickett's charge? And may we not point out to future historians that the volunteer troops which reached the summit of Cemetery Hill, July 3, 1863, were commanded by officers trained in a School of Arms; second in the quality of its graduates to no other in existence?

Another great fact is to be noted from the part of the V. M. I. graduates in the battle of Gettysburg, and that is, they were not dependent on Jackson for military opportunity. After Jackson's death, the army was reorganized into three Corps, commanded by Longstreet, Ewell, and A. P. Hill, respectively; yet, in Pickett's Division—the very flower of the army,—the first division of the first corps, practically every regiment was commanded by a graduate of the Institute!

CHAPTER XVII

THE FALL AND WINTER OF 1863—AVERELL'S SECOND RAID—A NEAR BATTLE

AFTER the terrible tragedy of Gettysburg, the Confederate Government relied more than ever before upon the Institute to supply trained officers for the lower grades in which the greatest need of efficient officers was felt. As the war wore on, the brigades and divisions were, perhaps, better commanded than in the early stages. Political appointees were gradually eliminated, and the trained soldiers succeeded them in high command. But hundreds of superb officers, like those who fell at Gettysburg, and who had comprised the field and staff of the line regiments, were unreplaceable.

When the war broke out, the Institute had actually graduated, up to July, 1860, but 412 cadets. In the South, in 1861, there were, perhaps, 1,000 men who had attended the Institute one or more years, including the 142 cadets graduated in July and December of that year, less those who had died. The field-officers in Virginia were, in large measure, originally drawn from those who had graduated prior to 1856, all of whom were men from twenty-five to forty years of age. Comparatively few of these men became general officers, at the beginning, because there were not over 100 graduates, capable of bearing arms, past thirty years old. Up to July, 1849, there had been but 187 graduates. Some of this number were beyond military age, and others had died. The growth of the School in 1850-1860 led to the graduation, in the second decade of its existence, of 275 cadets, or just double the number in the preceding ten years. Therefore, it is fair to conclude, taking the average age at graduation as twenty-one years, that at least two-thirds of the 412 graduates

to July, 1860, were not over thirty years of age; and such was correspondingly true in the case of the non-graduates.

With 282 graduates of West Point, and innumerable militia officers already in the service of the various States, and hundreds of politicians clamoring for preferment, it is readily understood why there were comparatively so few general officers among the graduates of the Institute up to 1861. Throughout the war, there were but twenty actually commissioned, in the C. S. A., and the reason is very clear. Before the original appointees were killed off, or otherwise eliminated, 200 or more graduates, including over 50 of the original field-officers, who would in the natural course of events have received high promotion, had been killed in battle, leaving out about 200 graduates past the age of twenty-five, and about fifty past the age of thirty years. Had the war continued several years longer than it did, large numbers of the youthful field-officers in 1864 would have become general officers, because the supply of West Pointers had been entirely cut off since 1861, and those who had fallen were being rapidly replaced by Institute men when the war closed.

After Gettysburg, the main pressure was exerted by the Federals in eastern Virginia, for Lincoln, failing to perceive that the main hostile army was his true objective, persisted in his effort to seize the capital of his enemy. It was necessary, therefore, since the Federals would not follow up Lee, for Lee to constantly interpose his army between them and Richmond. But, meanwhile, Federal troops were kept in West Virginia, threatening at all times to press in upon the Confederate rear.

It is fortunate for the South (or unfortunate, if we choose now to consider a speedier termination of the war to have been desirable), that Grant, the Charles Martel of the North, was not placed in command of the Army of the Potomac immediately after Gettysburg, instead of in February, 1864; for, had he then com-

menced to grapple with Lee, while the active Sheridan operated in the valley, it seems almost certain the long-drawn-out war would have ended, one way or the other, before April, 1865. Had Lee defeated Grant in 1863, or early in 1864, the peace party of the North would probably have triumphed. Had Grant commenced his operations a year earlier, even attaining the same results he did in 1864, the surrender would have occurred at an earlier date.

Averell, however, was not Sheridan; nor was the force placed at his disposal adequate to accomplish decisive results. He was more of an annoyance than a real enemy. But Lincoln and Halleck kept him galloping back and forth, frittering away good men and horses in fruitless expeditions, instead of pursuing, with all the strength they could muster, a comprehensive plan to crush the Confederate forces in Virginia.

By the middle of October, General Averell had assembled 5,000 men at Huttonsville, West Virginia, from which point he again threatened the upper Valley. So obvious were his intentions to set out on another raid, that on October 17th, Colonel Nadenbousch, still in command at Staunton, notified General Imboden, commanding the Valley District, of the danger. Imboden was at the time moving on Charles Town, which he surprised and recaptured the next day, but with the intention of moving up the valley himself as soon as possible to coöperate with General Samuel Jones, of the Western District, in driving back Averell.

Averell's threatened raid into Virginia was postponed, for one reason or another, until, under date of October 26th, he received specific orders to proceed to Lewisburg, in Greenbrier County, West Virginia, and to attack and capture, or drive away, the Confederate force there assembled under Colonel William L. Jackson.* After accomplishing this task, he was directed to leave his infantry at Lewisburg and push on to Union, in Monroe County, and thence to New River,

*"Mudwall" Jackson, a cousin of Stonewall Jackson. The sobriquet here given him simply to avoid confusion. He was a gallant and enterprising officer.

where he was to destroy the bridge of the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad.

Pursuant to these orders, Averell left Beverly November 1st, with two regiments of infantry, three regiments of mounted infantry, one regiment of cavalry, and four batteries of artillery.

Moving along the Staunton pike to Greenbrier Bridge, Averell's command reached Huntersville, in Pocahontas County (a point about 25 miles west of Warm Springs, Virginia) at noon, on the 4th, where, learning that a force of about 600 Confederates, under Colonel Thompson, were at Marling's Bottom, he immediately took steps to cut it off from Lewisburg. Colonel Thompson, however, retired toward Mill Point, and effected a junction with the other troops of Jackson's command, which retired rapidly to the summit of Droop Mountain where, about 4,000 strong, it took up a strong defensive position across the main road to Lewisburg, 20 miles distant.

On the evening of the 4th, General Imboden was informed of Averell's movement through Huntersville, and, at daybreak on the 5th, left his camp near Bridgewater, and moved to Buffalo Gap.

During the late afternoon of the 5th of November, rumors sifted into Lexington by the invisible wire that Averell with 7,000 men was between Jackson's force and Warm Springs, and about 7 P. M. a courier arrived from Colonel Jackson requesting that the Corps of Cadets and Home Guards be sent at once to his support.

Immediately, Colonel Massie summoned the Home Guard companies of the county, in the organization of which he had exhibited the utmost zeal and efficiency, to assemble; and the following order was issued by the Superintendent of the Institute:

"HEADQUARTERS, VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE,
"November 5, 1863.

"SPECIAL ORDERS—No. 212.

"I. Intelligence having been received that the enemy in strong force are again threatening this County, the Superintendent deems

it his duty, under the orders of the Governor, to make use of every available man of this Institution as an auxiliary force to repel this invasion, and to place them in position without delay, at or near California Furnace.

"II. The Commandant of Cadets, Lt.-Col. Shipp, will immediately make details of detachments of cadets to man two or four pieces of artillery, as he may deem expedient, and organise companies of cadets as an infantry support, and he will take command in person, and march without delay to California Furnace, and place himself in communication with the officer commanding the Confederate forces in that vicinity, and give such support to him as may be required by existing exigencies, and to the extent embraced in the general instructions from the Governor of Virginia, as communicated to the command. He will make a detail of officers and cadets as a Guard to the Institute.

"III. The Commissary will supply cooked rations for two days for the command, and additional uncooked rations for five days. He will report to Lt.-Col. Shipp for orders.

"IV. The Quartermaster of the Confederate States will supply transportation and horses by order of the Commandant of the Post of Lexington.

"V. The Surgeon will make all necessary provision for the care of the sick and disabled.

"VI. The solemn responsibility which withdraws the Corps of Cadets from their regular duties is an appeal to that patriotism which burns in every Southern heart. The Superintendent confidently relies upon the courage and fidelity of this command, in all the duty to which they may be called. He shares their dangers and their hardships with them, and he trusts they may soon be privileged to return to their post of duty.

"By command of Major-General F. H. Smith,

"J. H. MORRISON,
"A. A., V. M. I."

The entire night following the publication of this order was spent preparing for the march, and at daybreak the Corps of Cadets, four companies, with the rifled section of artillery, 225 strong, the whole commanded by the Commandant, and the artillery by Lieutenant T. H. Smith, set out for California Furnace, followed by Colonel Massie with about 575 men of the Home Guard.

The command reached the furnace (which is about three miles south of Rockbridge Alum Springs), dur-

MAJOR THOMAS JONATHAN JACKSON

PROFESSOR INSTRUCTOR OF ARTILLERY TACTICS 1850-1863

ing the late afternoon, after a march of seventeen miles, and went into bivouac for the night. Meanwhile, efforts were being made to get into communication with the Confederate forces; but for the time being California Furnace was safe.

That morning, with about 600 men and a section of artillery, General Imboden moved through Goshen and halted for the night at Bratton's in Bath County, some ten miles north of California Furnace.

During the morning, Averell had attacked Jackson's force, and at 3 P. M. succeeded in driving it from its position on Droop Mountain, in Greenbrier County, West Virginia, about thirty miles west of Bratton's and California Furnace.

Imboden resumed his march at dawn on the 7th, and, moving westward along the Huntersville road, passed through Warm Springs at 1 P. M., where he was informed of the battle between Jackson and Averell, the preceding day. Learning also that the Confederates (badly defeated) had fallen back through Lewisburg towards Monroe, and that Averell, who had been reenforced by General Duffie at Lewisburg with four regiments and some artillery, was pursuing, he resolved to fall upon the Federal rear. With that object in view, he now changed his course down Jackson's River toward Covington, after sending orders to Colonels Shipp and Massie (whom he believed to be at Millboro), to march at once to Clifton Forge, and there unite with him.

Leaving their camp about noon on the 7th, the Corps and Home Guard marched along the direct road from California Furnace to Clifton Forge, which follows the valley running due southwest along the border of Alleghany and Rockbridge counties. That night those commands, after paralleling Imboden's route some miles to the west, bivouacked half a mile north of the Lucy Salina (now called the Longdale) Furnace, having marched about ten miles. The next day, Sunday, the 8th, they marched nine miles to Clifton Forge, go-

ing into Camp on the banks of Jackson's River, thirteen miles distant from Imboden who had reached the neighborhood of Covington. After midnight, Imboden dispatched orders to Colonel Massie and General Smith (the latter, with Colonel Preston, having joined the cadets at Clifton Forge), to move forward to Covington at daybreak.

That morning, Averell, had set out for Dublin, but was compelled to order Duffie's command back to Meadow Bluff, because of its complete exhaustion, and to dispatch two regiments of infantry and a battery back to Beverly with his wounded, prisoners, and captured property. With his mounted men and a battery, he then pressed on through White Sulphur Springs to the neighborhood of Callaghan's where, on the morning of the 9th, he was informed that Imboden with a force of from 900 to 1,500 men was at Covington, on his way to reinforce Echol's at Union, and that large reinforcements from Lee's Army were near at hand. He, therefore, dispatched two squadrons of the 8th West Virginia Mounted Infantry, under Major Slack, to drive Imboden from his line of march.

Imboden, with his own command, had taken up a position on the crest of a mountain one and a half miles west of Covington; and when the two Federal squadrons (about 400 strong) had driven in his pickets and approached to within 1,200 yards of his position, he opened on them with his two guns, and then sent forward two troops of cavalry to strike the enemy while scattered. The Federals retreated rapidly to Callaghan's where they rejoined the main column, over 3,000 strong, and moved off with it.

As soon as Imboden learned that Averell had with him a battery of seven pieces of artillery, and believing that he would attack in earnest, he withdrew to a very strong position on a hill one mile east of Covington, after sending orders to Colonels Shipp and Massie to hurry up to the new position where he intended to give battle.

Leaving their bivouacs at daybreak on the 9th, the Corps of Cadets and the Home Guard joined Imboden in his new position soon after he had occupied it, and were deployed in line of battle. Colonel Shipp carefully placed the guns in position; but, in spite of much random firing in their front, neither the cadets, nor any part of Imboden's force, were engaged.

How anxiously the young soldiers peered over the fence rails piled up into a rude protection; how they longed for just one chance to fire upon the enemy,—only those present will ever know; but again they were doomed to be disappointed, for soon the Cavalry pickets reported that Averell had left the Warm Springs road, and moved off toward Huntersville.

Believing that this might be a ruse on the enemy's part, and that he might swing around Warm Springs to Millboro, and thence to Lexington, Imboden, with his own command, set out from Clifton Forge to Goshen, sending out scouts to watch Averell's movements, and dismissing the Lexington forces about noon on the 9th.

At Goshen, which point he reached after a march of 40 miles in little over 24 hours, Imboden learned from his scouts that Averell had moved rapidly northward by Gatewood's, along the Back Creek Road, with a part of his force, the main body proceeding *via* Hightown, and a single regiment *via* Monterey. All danger was, therefore, apparently over; but on the 11th he moved to Buffalo Gap. Upon arriving there he ascertained that a fresh force of 800 men from Petersburg would form a junction that evening with Averell at Monterey, or Hightown; but, instead of moving toward Staunton, Averell ordered Colonel Thorburn's reinforcements back to Petersburg, and proceeded himself to New Creek, where he arrived on the 17th.*

Although Imboden inflicted no appreciable damage on the enemy, his prompt movements, after learning of Jackson's and Echols's defeat, undoubtedly saved the

*Rebellion Records, Series I, Vol. XXIX, pp. 498-549.

six or eight blast furnaces in the western parts of Rockbridge and Botetourt counties from destruction, plants which at the time were of incalculable value to the Confederate Bureau of Ordnance. Without the support of the Corps of Cadets and the Home Guard, he would never have attempted the movements he actually undertook, for it was his knowledge of their presence that enabled him to make the threat on Averell's rear, the morning of the 9th, causing him to withdraw, for fear of the large force on his line of retreat.

Averell had been informed that heavy reinforcements were being dispatched by General Lee to Imboden, and seems to have been misled into believing that the cadets and Home Guard were the advance of such reinforcements. Thus, they not only emboldened Imboden to show fight across Averell's path, but served a better purpose in causing the latter to retreat precipitately.

The Corps of Cadets and Home Guard reached Lexington, *via* direct road, late on the 11th, and, says Mrs. Preston in her diary, "Everybody expected a fight, and I think there was general disappointment that there was only a skirmish. For the present, the forces (cadets and Home Guard) have returned, and gone to their homes; with the expectation, however, that any time they may be recalled."*

The 11th of November, the day upon which the Corps of Cadets returned, was the 24th anniversary of the founding of the Institute. How well had been fulfilled the expectations of those devoted men who assembled in Lexington to cast Virginia's flag to the breeze over the infant School of Arms, November 11, 1839! Within a quarter of a century, the very anniversary of Founder's Day was to see the Corps of Cadets actually in the field defending the Arsenal, which it had been created to guard.

*Life and Letters of Margaret Junkin Preston, by Elizabeth Preston Allan, p. 171. This book contains many interesting and contemporaneous letters from which many facts concerning the cadets have been ascertained.

General Smith had preceded the Corps to Lexington, and, before it arrived, published the following order:

"HEADQUARTERS, VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE,
"November 11, 1863.

"GENERAL ORDERS—No. 88.

"I. This day is the anniversary of the Virginia Military Institute. Twenty-four years have rolled away since the proud Flag of Virginia was first waved over the Corps of Cadets. What an eventful period do these years embrace! This anniversary, unlike those which have preceded it, finds the cadets in the field, enduring the hardships of an arduous march, in aid of efforts to repel an unscrupulous and relentless foe. This duty has been patiently and cheerfully discharged in the midst of privations and discomforts which a veteran might even shrink from, and a spirit has been exhibited by the Corps of Cadets which reflects the highest honor upon themselves, and upon the accomplished officer who has the high responsibility of their command (Lieut.-Colonel Scott Shipp). The Superintendent returns his thanks to the officers and cadets for the prompt and faithful discharge of duty in the expedition, and it will be his pleasure, as well as duty, to communicate a report of their conduct to his Excellency, the Governor.

"II. The Anniversary Celebration designed for the day will be observed to-morrow, and a salute of ten guns will be fired at 6:30 A. M., under the direction of the Commandant of Cadets.

"By command of Major-General F. H. Smith,

"J. H. MORRISON,
"A. A., V. M. I."

November 12th was a day of rest, but the experiences of the past few days had shown the Commandant the necessity of familiarizing the Corps with the new arms. Accordingly, academic duty was suspended on the 13th, and the day was devoted to the needed instruction.

On the 21st, the following order was received and published at the Institute:

"HEADQUARTERS, VALLEY DISTRICT,
"SIMWILLIS CREEK, ROCKINGHAM CO., VA.,
"November 18, 1863.

"GENERAL ORDERS—No. 12.

"The General commanding the Military District takes great pleasure in announcing that in his recent expedition with a detach-

ment of his command to Covington, in Alleghany County, to resist the large raiding forces of the enemy, should they attempt to penetrate the Valley, or reach important public works in that section of the State, he was most opportunely and efficiently supported by the Corps of Cadets from the Virginia Military Institute, under the command of the accomplished Superintendent, Major-General Francis H. Smith, and the 'Rockbridge Home Guard,' under the command of that gallant and tried soldier, Colonel James W. Massie. Information of the movements of the enemy through Pocahontas was not received in Lexington until 7 P. M. on the 5th inst., when with a promptitude that reflects the highest honor on the Institute and the noble people of Rockbridge, the whole night was spent in preparing for the field, and by the following evening 800 patriotic men and youths, under the leadership of brave and skillful officers, were many miles on their dreary march into the mountains to meet the advancing columns of the enemy. Owing to the rapidity of our own movements, the uncertainty of the enemy's object, and the difficulty of frequent communication between us, General Smith and Colonel Massie had to rely mainly upon their own judgment in selecting their line of march, so as to gain the point of probable attack, which they accomplished with the most perfect success, and with a celerity not surpassed during the war, even by the veterans of the Confederacy. They were in ample time to have taken part in the general engagement which seemed imminent at Covington on Monday the 9th inst.

"It is a most pleasing duty to acknowledge gratefully the spontaneous volunteer movement from the glorious old County of Rockbridge, and from that Institution in her midst which has contributed so largely to the national defense, in the number of accomplished officers in our Army educated within its walls.

"All honor to the brave men and chivalrous youths who so gallantly came to our assistance! If every County in this Military District will emulate the example here set them, the Commanding General will never have occasion to call on General Lee for aid to repel any probable invasion of the interior of this beautiful valley, that may hereafter be attempted by the marauding bands that hang upon its borders. Here, at home, we shall have, ever ready, a bulwark of defense in those, who, like the 800 of Rockbridge and the Institute, will fly to the rendezvous at the first sound of the tocsin, or blaze of the signal on the summit of their own blue mountains.

"By command of J. D. Imboden, Brigadier-General commanding,

"F. B. BERKELEY,

"Captain and A. A.-General."

In his official report of these operations, General Imboden says:

"I beg leave to add my testimony to the admirable spirit displayed by the people of Rockbridge in coming to my assistance. At 7 P. M. on Thursday, the 6th (5th), the news reached Lexington of this raid. By 7 P. M., the next day, 800 men were twelve miles on their march to support me. My thanks are especially due Colonel J. W. Massie, Commanding Home Guards, and General F. H. Smith, Commanding Cadets, for the energy and zeal they manifested and the skill with which they moved their commands so rapidly through the mountains."

CHAPTER XVIII

AVERELL'S THIRD RAID—CADETS CALLED OUT AGAIN—A WEEK OF SEVERE FIELD SERVICE

THE results accomplished by Averell in November, 1863, evidently did not fulfill the expectations of Washington; for he had hardly reached his base at New Creek, West Virginia, when he was informed that his command would be required to take the field again, at an early date.

December 6th, Averell received instructions from the Department Commander to proceed on the 8th *via* Petersburg, Franklin, and Monterey to the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad at Bonsack's Station, in Botetourt County, or to Salem, in Roanoke County; or, by dividing his command, to both points, and to destroy all the bridges, water stations, depots, and as much of the roadbed and track in those localities as possible. After accomplishing his task, he was directed to return to the line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, between New Creek and Harper's Ferry.*

Pursuant to these most definite instructions, Averell's plan for their execution contemplated the presence of Brigadier-General Scammon with the Kanawha Valley forces at Lewisburg, on December 12th, for the purpose of intercepting any Confederate force moving upon the rear of the raiding column from the north. A small force was also to reach Marling's Bottom on the 11th, to feint against the Confederates in the neighborhood of Lewisburg. Brigadier-General Sullivan, commanding the forces in the Shenandoah Valley, was to assume active operations on the 11th, while Colonel Thorburn's command was to move forward from Monterey toward Staunton, with a view to keeping the enemy's attention fixed on the Parkersburg pike.

*Rebellion Record, Series I, Vol. XXIX, Part 1, p. 933.

It was thought by Averell that the demonstrations of the Kanawha and Shenandoah commands would enable him to pass southward without difficulty, and that the operations ordered in the direction of Lewisburg and Union, if conducted with vigor, would divert opposition to the return of his own wearied column.

Leaving New Creek at dawn, December 8th, with three regiments of mounted infantry, a regiment and a half of cavalry, and one battery of artillery, Averell reached Petersburg on the 10th where he was joined by Colonel Thorburn's command of 700 mounted men. Arriving at Monterey on the 11th, Colonel Thorburn proceeded towards McDowell, and Averell's column resumed its march on the 12th down Back Creek.

The storm continued unabated throughout the next four days, so that Averell found Jackson's River unfordable, when he arrived at Callaghan's in Alleghany County, on the 14th. At that point he learned that Scammon had successfully occupied Lewisburg, and that the small Confederate brigade under Echols had fallen back upon Union, under orders from Major-General Samuel Jones.

On the 12th, Jones, the Department Commander, had received information from Echols and Jackson that the enemy was moving from the Kanawha and Beverly on Lewisburg; and, having directed Echols to fall back behind the Greenbrier River, he ordered McCausland who was at the Narrows with his brigade to unite with Echols, and telegraphed Colonel Jackson to proceed to Callaghan's. At the same time, he called upon General Lee for support.

On the night of the 14th, Echols and McCausland formed a junction near Union.

Major-General Fitz Lee's Cavalry Division had by good fortune left the army on the Rapidan on the 11th, and arrived in Charlottesville on the 12th, with the intention of going into winter quarters there. On the 12th, two brigades of this command, under Fitz Lee himself, were dispatched to the Valley to interpose be-

tween the enemy and Staunton, arriving at Mount Crawford, *via* Brown's Gap, the morning of the 15th. Finding Sullivan inactive at Strasburg, he turned up the Valley to assist Imboden, who was confronting the enemy at Shenandoah Mountain, six miles from Staunton. That night, Major-General Early arrived at Staunton, and assumed command.

Late on the 14th, news had reached Lexington of Averell's movements, and again the Superintendent and Colonel Massie took prompt steps to aid in the defense of the County.

"HEADQUARTERS, VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE,
"December 14, 1863.

"SPECIAL ORDERS—No. 242.

"I. Intelligence having been received that the enemy in strong force are again threatening this County, the Superintendent deems it his duty, under the orders of the Governor, to make use of every available man of this Institution, as an auxiliary force to repel this invasion, and to place them in position without delay, at or near Goshen, Virginia.

. . . . . .

"By command of Major-General F. H. Smith,
"J. H. MORRISON,
"A. A., V. M. I."

Leaving Lexington at dawn on the 15th, the Corps of Cadets, four companies, and the section of rifled field guns, 180 strong, Lieutenant-Colonel Scott Shipp, commanding, followed, as before, by Colonel Massie and the Home Guard, bivouacked that night about a mile and a half short of Rockbridge Baths.

At 2 A. M. that morning Averell had resumed his march, arriving at Sweet Springs during the forenoon. There he learned that Scammon had retired from Lewisburg and that Echols's Brigade was near Union. Resuming his march at 1 P. M., he passed through New Castle during the night, after sending out a squadron towards Fincastle for the purpose of deceiving the enemy, and arrived within four miles of Salem at daybreak of the 16th. There, he first learned of Fitz Lee's

movement from Charlottesville to intercept his return march.

December 16th the Corps of Cadets proceeded to Bratton's Run, which they found practically impassable, and camped on its banks with the Home Guard that night. Late that night, Early ordered Fitz Lee to pursue Averell with all haste, while Jones, who had learned of Averell's presence at Salem, ordered Colonel Jackson to take up a good position near Clifton Forge, while Echols was directed to occupy one on the mountain near Sweet Springs, with a view to cutting Averell off.

On the 17th, Colonel Massie, who was near Goshen with the Home Guard, received by courier the following communication:*

"BUFFALO GAP,
"December 17, 1863.

"COL. J. W. MASSIE,
"Commanding Forces.

"COL.—Major-General Early directs that you proceed to Lexington at once to protect that place. Send your mounted men rapidly. Gen. Imboden is moving on Lexington from this place, and you will communicate with him on the Brownsburg road. Major-General Fitz Lee is also moving from Staunton on Lexington.

"Averell has reached Salem on the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad, and may move down the Valley.

"Send some men posthaste to the bridge over Buffalo Creek beyond Lexington, with directions to scout towards Buchanan, and burn that bridge in case Averell approaches.

"I am, Colonel,

"Your obedient servant,
"A. S. PENDLETON,
*"Lt.-Col. and A. A.-G."***

Marching day and night Fitz Lee's command reached Lexington before noon on the 18th, uniting at that point with Imboden and the Home Guard. Colonel Massie immediately dispatched a large patrol, under Lieutenant T. Henderson Smith of the Institute, in the direction of Buchanan, for the purpose of observing the

*Rebellion Records, Series I. Vol. XXII, Part 1, p. 962.
**From the original dispatch in Gen. Shipp's possession.

enemy's movements in that direction, and to destroy the Pattonsburg bridge over the James, and the one over Buffalo Creek, if necessary, to prevent Averell from reaching Lexington.

"December 16th. Again the cadets and Home Guard are summoned out; they started yesterday; and Mr. P. [Major Preston] went early this morning. It is a cold, raw day and they will find marching and bivouacking in the open air very disagreeable. The reports are the enemy is advancing upon the Valley from four points. When will these alarms cease? I am in despair about the war." Such is the contemporaneous entry in the diary of Mrs. Preston, the wife of Major Preston of the Institute, a record which throws much light on these stirring times. And again:

"December 18th: Went on the street to hear some news; found that a dispatch had been received ordering a body of men to go on to Pattonsburg to burn down the fine bridge over the James River, to prevent Averell's escape; Averell is at Salem with 4,000 men.

"At 11 o'clock Imboden's cavalry and artillery passed through. It is the first time I have seen an army. Poor fellows! with their broken-down horses, muddy up to the eyes, and their muddy wallets and blankets, they looked like an army of tatterdemalions: the horses looked starved. Then came the Home Guard, drenched and muddy as if they had seen hard service, though they had only been out four days; but such weather! it rained terribly, the rain part of the time freezing as it fell; and they were out in it all; stood round their fires all night, or lay down in the puddles of water. At 3 P. M., General Fitzhugh Lee's cavalry (2,700) passed through. Their horses were in better condition; all the men in both divisions looked in fine spirits, and cheered vociferously as the ladies waved scarfs and handkerchiefs on their passing. People brought out waiters of eatables to the poor tired men. . . . . All went on to Collierstown last night. Brother W.*

*Rev. William F. Junkin, father of Mrs. Nichols, wife of the present Superintendent of the Institute.

is Lieutenant-Colonel of the Home Guard. They were all sent in for the protection of Lexington last night, it being supposed Averell would advance upon us from Salem. An exciting day indeed.

"At night, my husband came; the cadets were water-bound; some of them waded to their waists in water, building bridges for artillery. Mr. P. says he saw one marching along in his naked feet. This is a glorious war!"

On the 17th before Colonel Massie had been recalled, and intelligence of the enemy's whereabouts had been received, the Commandant determined to cross Bratton's Run which had foiled his passage the night before. By the most heroic efforts on the part of the cadets, the guns and baggage wagons were finally transferred, and the Corps of Cadets pressed on to Cold Sulphur Springs, where it bivouacked that night.

Late on the 18th, the Commandant received the following communication from the Superintendent:

"HEADQUARTERS, VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE,
"December 18, 1863.
"12 M.

"LT.-COL. S. SHIPP,
"Commandant of Cadets.

"COL.—As you might have anticipated, the heavy rain and high water delayed my joining you to-day.

"Gen. Fitz Lee is now here, and under his instructions you are directed, as soon as you can cross Bratton's Run, to march with the cadets to this point, with the view of moving immediately to Buchanan. Gen. Lee marches to-day to Clifton Forge, and Covington, and hopes to intercept the line of retreat of Averell. The object is to place the cadets at Buchanan with the line of scouts put out to watch the movement of the enemy, and in the event of his turning back from the road by which he entered towards Salem, under the apprehension of being intercepted, to anticipate his effort to come down the Valley, by crossing the James at Buchanan.

"Further instructions will be given you on your reaching here. Inform me what supplies you will require, for it may be necessary to move to Buchanan without delay.

"I am, Colonel,

"Very respectfully,
"F. H. SMITH.

"Three brigades passed here to-day, General Wickham, General Imboden, and one other. J. W. Massie is just in. The bakery is being used to make bread for General Lee's command which it was important to move on with dispatch. I shall not be able to send bread.

"F. H. S."*

Pursuant to this dispatch, the Commandant marched back to Wilson's Spring at the east end of Goshen Pass, and bivouacked there the night of the 18th.

Averell had marched the last eighty miles in thirty hours; and, while his men busied themselves on the 16th destroying depots, railway cars, the water station, turntable, and a large supply of bridge timber and repairing material at Salem, his horses were allowed to rest. After destroying a number of small storehouses, and cutting and destroying the telegraph wires, he quitted his work about 4 P. M., and having circulated the report that he would return, *via* Buchanan, he turned north along Craig's Creek, arriving at New Castle at dusk on the 18th, after tremendous exertions and many difficulties in fording the stream at the many points it crossed his route, especially with his battery.

That night Fitz Lee camped at Collierstown, ten miles west of Lexington, *en route* with Imboden to Clifton Forge, and there received a dispatch from Lynchburg that the enemy was returning to Salem, and begging that he proceed to Buchanan.

After midnight, the Superintendent wrote the Commandant, then in camp at Wilson's Springs on the return march, as follows:

"HEADQUARTERS, VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE,
"1 o'clock at night,
"December 18-19.

"LT.-COL. S. SHIPP,
"Commandant of Cadets.

"COL.—Intelligence has just reached us by my returned courier from Buchanan, that the enemy had been delayed in re-crossing the Craig River, by the freshets. This is confirmed by another courier from General Early. A courier from General Lee is also just in,

*From the original in General Shipp's possession.

with dispatches to me that it is all important that the cadets be pressed on to Buchanan as rapidly as possible. You will determine whether this can best be done by a night march, or an early movement in the morning. I have had fifteen extra horses impressed to replace such as may be broken down, and have had meat and bread prepared—also all the shoes that can be had. General Lee was at Collierstown on his way to Covington. I have sent two couriers out to-night to convey the intelligence, just in from Buchanan, that our forces were disputing the crossing of the Craig with the enemy. I feel greatly gratified at the noble conduct of the cadets, and I desire that you will make this known to them, and that I have communicated your dispatch to the Adj.-Gen., that the Governor might know to what hardships they had been exposed, and how cheerfully they have borne them, and asked him to purchase at my cost 250 overcoats and pairs of shoes to be sent up by special messengers. Gen. Richardson has received my telegram and answered they will be sent up immediately. I will try to have every comfort ready for you when you arrive.

"I am, Colonel,

"Very respectfully,

"F. H. SMITH,

*"Superintendent."**

Upon reaching New Castle, Averell was informed that Fitz Lee was at Fincastle, and that Jones was between him and Sweet Springs. At 9 P. M., he moved out in the direction of Fincastle to deceive the enemy, and soon changed his course towards Sweet Springs. Before midnight, he was confronted with the possibility of having to fight his way to Sweet Springs. Two ways were now open to him to avoid a contest. He might move to the southwest, around Jones's right, through Monroe and Greenbrier counties; the other, or the most direct, way, being *via* Covington over the Fincastle pike, which route he took. Marching thirty miles through the forest, he reached the Fincastle pike, fifteen miles from Covington, about noon on the 19th. Upon reaching a point eight miles from Covington, he was met by a force of 300 Confederates which he dispersed and followed up so closely they were unable to destroy the bridges over the Jackson River, although every arrangement had been made to burn them. The Federals, therefore,

*From the original in General Shipp's possession.

were able to cross the unfordable stream by these bridges about 9 P. M., and the most carefully laid plans of Early, Jones, Imboden, Echols, McCausland, Fitz Lee, and Jackson to cut him off, were frustrated.

Averell had hardly crossed the river when Jackson assailed his column which was over four miles long; but during the night his force was concentrated at Callaghan's, and the bridges were destroyed by the Federals to check pursuit. This left a single regiment on the enemy's side of the river, which, upon being attacked, was compelled to swim the stream. At this point, Averell managed to save his column, with the loss of but 124 officers and men captured and a few killed and wounded.

Meanwhile, Fitz Lee had reached a point between Buchanan and Fincastle, believing Averell to be near Salem. It was not until he arrived at Fincastle, on the 20th, that he learned of Averell's crossing at Covington, the night before, whereupon, he immediately took up his pursuit.

Marching early on the 19th, the Corps of Cadets reached Lexington during the afternoon, after an absence of five days, and at once preparations were undertaken for an early start on the 20th for Buchanan. Starting out in that direction, news was soon received during the day of Averell's crossing at Covington, the night before, and the Commandant was directed by Fitz Lee to join Colonel Jackson's force, the exact whereabouts of which were unknown to Colonel Shipp. Accordingly, he dispatched Lieutenant Prince to Clifton Forge, who vainly sought to locate Jackson, throughout the day. The Corps bivouacked that night at the furnace eight miles from Clifton Forge, and from the latter point, Prince succeeded in opening communications with Colonel Jackson.*

"December 19th . . . . . The cadets are to go to Buchanan to-morrow morning. The weather is bitterly cold, the roads very bad and hard frozen.

*Rebellion Records, Series I, Vol. XXIX, Part 1, p. 966.

"Sunday, December 20th. An order from Imboden for the cadets to march to Buchanan. They started this morning. Mr. P. [Major Preston] went at noon. A very cold day."*

Averell marched on the night of the 19th, and the following day, by a road over the Alleghanies to Anthony's Creek between the White Sulphur Springs and Huntersville, and from that point to the Greenbrier which he reached and crossed on the 21st, opposite Hillsborough, camping for the night at the northern base of Droop Mountain, and reached Beverly several days later, without opposition.

Fitz Lee reached Covington on the 21st, and, after passing Callaghan's, learned that there was no other force in Averell's front, so turned off to Warm Springs, striking the Virginia Central Railroad at Goshen. "For thirty hours," wrote Averell in his report, "after my column left Callaghan's, the enemy made great efforts to intercept my force, but generally took wrong roads."**

"December 21st: Averell has escaped! To-day Mr. P. [Major Preston] returned; also Eben; all are terribly chagrined at the escape of Averell.

"December 24th: The Moncures† came back at night, worn out with their bootless marching. They blame E. with the miscarriage of the expedition against Averell."‡

But the Moncures were not the only ones who blamed General Early for the miscarriage of the plan to capture Averell. The disposition of the Confederates had been prompt and skillful. Rosser's brigade had crossed the Rappahannock at Fredericksburg on the 14th, and, passing through Ashby's Gap, had succeeded in cutting off the column from Harper's Ferry, which Averell had expected to create a diversion in his favor. Early's division had left Hanover Junction on the 15th, arrived at Staunton that same night, marched to Buffalo

*Life and Letters of Margaret Junkin Preston, Allan, pp. 174-175.
**Rebellion Records, Series I, Vol. XXIX, Part 1, p. 931.
†James Dunlap and Marshall Ambler, brothers, former cadets, and then members of Fitz Lee's Cavalry.
‡Mrs. Preston's Diary.

Gap the ensuing day, thence to Warm Springs and Millboro. Fitz Lee's two brigades leaving Charlottesville on the 14th, reached Collierstown on the 18th, and Fincastle on the 20th, while Imboden had moved with great dispatch from near Staunton to the neighborhood of Lexington, and McCausland, Jackson, and Echols had been quickly thrown by Jones across Averell's homeward path.

The whole plan seems to have miscarried, as a result of the false reports of Averell's presence on the 19th at Buchanan, which point his main column never approached. The inexperienced Confederate scouts mistook the detachment ordered to feint in that direction for the main body, and upon such imperfect imformation Early was misled into ordering Fitz Lee from Collierstown to Buchanan on the night of the 18th, when Averell was actually on his way back from Salem, *via* New Castle and Covington, thus paralleling Fitz Lee's route in an opposite direction.

In his official report, Fitz Lee wrote, "Had my march across North Mountain not been changed by dispatches received, and the conviction that if I interposed between the enemy and myself a stream represented as likely to be impassable for some days, I would leave the route by Buchanan open and expose Lexington, or enable him to retire on south of Virginia and Tennessee Railroad, or through Giles and Monroe counties, without molestation, I should have arrived at Covington three hours ahead of him; or had Colonel Jackson destroyed the bridge over Jackson's River, or interposed any obstructions to his march, Averell's command must have been captured.

. . . . . .

"My especial thanks are due to General F. H. Smith, of the Virginia Military Institute, for the promptness with which he moved his command, and the eagerness he evinced for the capture of the enemy."*

Late on the 21st the Corps of Cadets returned to Lexington, again much disappointed by the failure of

*Rebellion Records, Series I, Vol. XXIX, Part 1, p. 972.

the expedition. The week the cadets had spent in the field was by long odds the most severe field service they had yet experienced. It had rained and sleeted almost continuously, and in the intermissions of the storm the weather had been intensely cold. The soft dirt roads were either ankle-deep in mud, or frozen hard, making marching most difficult; and on one occasion it had been necessary to cut the tent ropes and walls upon breaking camp, where they had frozen to the ground. The cadets were inadequately provided with heavy clothing and shoes for such conditions, and the Superintendent had been compelled to purchase shoes wherever possible, in order to supply their needs. Yet, there was practically no sickness, and hardly a cadet fell out of ranks, throughout the entire week.

"HEADQUARTERS, VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE,
"December 21, 1863.

"GENERAL ORDERS—No. 92.

"I. The severe tour of duty in the field to which the Corps of Cadets has been recently called makes it proper that academic duties should be suspended to-morrow, that time may be afforded for cleaning arms, etc., so as to be in a state of preparedness for any other calls. The regular academic exercises will be resumed on Wednesday morning.

"II. The cheerful alacrity with which the cadets have responded to this call of their country, and the patient endurance with which they have borne the severe exposure to which they have been subjected, constitute the highest tests of character of the true soldier.

"By command of Major-General F. H. Smith,

"J. H. MORRISON,
"*A. A., V. M. I.*"

The following day it was announced that the accounts of cadets would, upon the authority of the Adjutant-General, be credited with the cost of the shoes and other clothing procured for them during the expedition, and that the Chief of Ordnance had honored a requisition for 250 pairs of army shoes for the cadets and the musicians who had accompanied the Corps in the field, and that he had also detailed three regular shoemakers to the Institute to keep the cadets properly shod in the future.

CHAPTER XIX

FROM THE SUBLIME TO THE RIDICULOUS

THE winter of 1864 was an uneventful one for the Corps, for no further field service was exacted of the cadets until late in the spring.

The monotony of the routine was broken only by the coming and going of dashing young officers who clanked their spurs about Barracks, and recounted marvelous tales of the service, to an interested audience. Wounded or paroled officers from distant homes frequently spent their periods of inactivity visiting their friends in the faculty and sub-faculty. There was "Sheep" Flowerree of Vicksburg, '61, Colonel of the gallant 7th Virginia, who had been desperately wounded at Fredericksburg, but with bandages almost wet had ridden up Cemetery Hill at the head of his regiment, after Colonel W. T. Patton, '55 (whom he succeeded in command), had been wounded, and who now came to visit his old classmate, Captain Wise. Then, there were "Bute" Henderson, '59, "Tige" Harding, '58 (wounded at Fort Harrison), "Marsh" McDonald, '60, paroled at Vicksburg, all of whom, at one time or another during the war, turned up at the Institute. To the outside world, they were Colonels, Majors, etc.; at the Virginia Military Institute, they were "Sheep" and "Bute" and "Tige", just as the permanent officers of the Institute were "Old Spex" Smith, "Old Bald" Preston, "Old Jack" Jackson, "Old Polly" Colston, "Old Tom" Williamson, "Old Gill" Gilham, "Chinook" Wise, and "Old Shipp". Everybody connected with the Institute from the smallest "rat" to the most venerable professor, has always had his appropriate nickname, and generally an extraordinarily appropriate one. Who gives them, how they originate,—no one

knows; but they invariably attach themselves with a persistence which never relaxes with time.

Many a day out of study hours, from the lips of the visiting officers the cadets drank in the stories of how Meagher's Irish Brigade was repulsed at Marye's Heights; or, how Hayes made his stand at Hamilton's Crossing; or, Pender at the Railroad; or, how Pelham raked Franklin's Corps on the Rappahannock Flats. Then, there were the stories of little Joe Latimer, the "Boy-Major," at Gettysburg; and of Bob Chew and Jimmie Thomson, and their marvelous charges with their horse battery in the Valley, and how "Tige" Harding seized General Lee's bridle rein at the Wilderness and led him from the head of the column; and of Patton, and Allen, and the others—all graduates—at Cemetery Hill. Indeed, very few youngsters ever had such practical lessons in the art of war.

The dullness of Lexington was also enlivened by the presence of Rosser's celebrated "Laurel Brigade" which wintered in 1864 at Buffalo Forge, only a few miles from town. The Institute was constantly visited by Rosser and his staff officers who brought the cadets in touch with the army, as nothing else had done. The bold cavaliers jangled their spurs through the sally-port, laughed loudly in the "subs" quarters, and rode about as if they carried the world in a sling, singing merrily the song of Stuart's men—"If you want to have a good time, jine the Cav-al-ry!"

These welcome neighbors afforded the cadets unending enjoyment.

During February, the Corps learned that Grant had been transferred to command in the east; and soon that the Valley was to be cleaned up in such a way that a crow traversing the fair region of the Shenandoah would have to carry his rations with him. This all spelled an early resumption of active service; and many of the 280 cadets present during the winter resigned, to join the army.

"Good boys became bad boys for the express purpose of getting 'shipped', parents and guardians having refused to permit them to resign. The stage coaches for the railroad stations at Goshen and Staunton stopped at the sally-port, on nearly every trip, to take on cadets departing for the front. Many a night, sauntering back and forth on the sentry-beat in front of Barracks, catching sounds of loud talk and laughter from the officers' quarters, or pondering upon the last joyous squad of cadets who had scrambled to the top of the departing stage, my heart longed for the camp; and I wondered if my time would ever come."*

In January, Captain Marshall McDonald was detailed by the War Department as Assistant Professor; and Lieutenants Prince and Roller departed for the Army. Others soon took their places; and so the winter passed away.

Late in March, orders were received by Rosser to break camp and move, as soon as the roads permitted, to the lower Valley. As a farewell compliment to the distinguished officer and his command, the Superintendent tendered him the compliment of a review of the Corps, on April 2d.

April 11th, Rosser broke his winter camp at Buffalo Forge, and before departing, requested the privilege of presenting the Corps with a handsome Federal Flag, which the 11th Virginia Cavalry (Colonel Funston commanding) of his brigade had captured from the enemy at Sangster's Station. Accordingly, the Commandant was ordered to form the Corps at 2 P. M. for the ceremony. Promptly, Rosser's horsemen came ambling, trotting, galloping, prancing, upon the parade ground, their mounted band playing, and their little guidons fluttering.

A squadron of 11th Virginia Cavalry was quickly formed into line facing the Cadet Battalion, while Lieutenant-Colonel Matt Dulaney Ball, commanding, presented the trophy. Rosser, whose escort on this

*End of an Era, John S. Wise, '64, p. 286.

occasion was decked with leaves of mountain laurel—the evergreen badge which the brigade had adopted—with the rest of his command, witnessed the ceremony from the edge of the parade ground.

To the speech of presentation, Lieutenant-Colonel Scott Shipp, the Commandant, who was notoriously diffident in public speaking, handsomely replied, as follows:

"Allow me, sir, in behalf of the Corps of Cadets, to accept, and to return their acknowledgments for, this beautiful trophy. To be thus distinguished by those deeds of high daring which have won the plaudits of a grateful people, is indeed a proud distinction. We will receive and transmit it as a token of remembrance of the brave deeds of brave men; admiration of the valor which won it will arouse the enthusiasm, and strengthen the resolves of the young preparing to enter upon the path of glory; and when grim-visaged war shall have smoothed its wrinkled front, and peace and prosperity succeed the tumult and destruction of battle, it will be pleasant to contemplate this as an evidence of the success of our defenders against our country's foe. For that peace you have fought and bled, and by your valor, with God's assistance, it will be accomplished. But, in the meantime, the dread Moloch demands more hecatombs of human victims. The war cloud will again burst in its fury upon you; those brave bosoms must again be bared to the pelting of the stones of battle; the banner of your gallant chieftain will soon be spread, and his war-cry be heard cheering you on to victory and to glory. The proud crest of your enemy must again be lowered, and his standard trailed in the dust. But your past achievements give an earnest of future success; our country's honor can be entrusted to you, with assurance that by you it will be maintained, and the justice of the common cause vindicated.

"Young gentlemen of the Corps of Cadets, you receive this trophy at the hands of the gallant squadron that wrested it from the grasp of the enemy in a mid-

night assault upon a stockaded fort. Treasure it as an evidence of their prowess; and thank God that He has given you such defenders. But, remember that you are preparing to go forth to battle in your own behalf. It behooves you, then, to cultivate and cherish those military virtues, and the love of glory, which inspire that generous ambition that leads to honor and renown. Courage is not an imborn quality; it is not natural, but artificial. True courage does not consist in insensibility to danger, but in boldly confronting and bravely meeting it. This can be attained, not by the medium of a cold, calculating reason which regards life as the greatest blessing, the more precious in its eyes since without it we can have no other; but it must be sought under the guidance of those high and noble passions—the love of right, the love of country, the love of glory—sentiments which none but the noble and generous experience. Let the love of glory, then, direct you, and let the example of the brave stimulate that love; and in your time you may hope to take your stand amongst the proudest of your country's defenders."*

After this formal acceptance of the flag, Lieutenant-Colonel Ball led his squadron below the parapet, and, forming it in line perpendicular thereto, abreast the western end of the parade ground, presented the Corps with the thrilling spectacle of a headlong charge, with drawn sabers and the shrill battle cry of the Confederates. At the Mess Hall, the troopers abruptly drew rein and dismounted; whereupon, they were tendered a sumptuous repast by the Superintendent. Poor hungry fellows! One can well imagine the speed with which they traversed the approaches to those groaning boards.

Now, the sequel of these heroics leads us from the sublime to the ridiculous. It forms no part of the war-time history of the Institute; but it must, nevertheless, be narrated, in order to preserve the facts. In doing so, it should be understood, at the outset, that the writer

*From the original transcript in the possession of General Shipp.

regards as preposterous any suggestion that Rosser, or any of his officers, acted in any way in bad faith, or with any motive but the highest.

But, the truth is, soon after the presentation of the flag to the Corps of Cadets by the 11th Virginia Cavalry the rumor got abroad that the flag was not "wrested from the grasp of a valiant foeman," but was found by the victors at Sangster's Station in a *captured baggage wagon.* This led to a certain amount of ridicule, notwithstanding the fact that the trophy was taken as a result of the prowess of the Confederate cavalrymen in a most gallant action.

Very naturally, such criticism dampened the enthusiasm of the Commandant and the cadets over the trophy concerning which, if the truth be known, the latter had never been over-appreciative. "We felt ashamed," wrote a cadet, "of having flags captured for us by others." But there is no suggestion that all did not appreciate the motives of the gallant soldiers who had presented the Corps of Cadets with the captured colors.

In 1888, when it was proposed by the Board of Visitors, of which Colonel Joseph P. Minetree, '59, was President, and Colonels Robert M. Mayo, '57, E. E. Portlock, J. H. Sherrard, J. B. Raulston; Majors J. A. Frazier, and R. H. Hooper, Judge George W. Ward, '64, Judge M. B. Wood, '64, and W. H. Rivercomb, Esq., were members, which is known as the "Readjuster Board," to return the captured flag to the city of New York, with befitting ceremony, the Commandant informed them of the report about the manner of its seizure, and warned them that there was danger of its not being received by the people of New York in the spirit expected by the Board. Little notice, however, was taken of this suggestion.

The final exercises were held at the Institute as usual, with the exception that the Diplomas were not granted there. On the 30th of June, the Corps, which then numbered little over one hundred cadets, accompanied

by the Board of Visitors and the Superintendent, left for New York by special train, all expenses being defrayed by Governor Cameron out of his contingent fund.

Arriving in New York City on the 2d of July, the Corps was quartered in the old 69th Regiment Armory, near Cooper's Union. On the 4th, it was marched with colors flying to the Fifth Avenue Hotel where arms were stacked in the lobby and the cadets assembled in the large reception room above. Here, President Arthur, after a brief speech, delivered the Diplomas to the Graduating Class. His remarks were not inspired with that enthusiasm which it had been expected the occasion would elicit, for, unfortunately, that morning, the New York *Herald,* apprised of the mission of the Corps, had fully presented the facts concerning the capture of the flag from the New York Regiment. Appreciating the motives of the Board and of the cadets, it refrained from irony, but, nevertheless, in a delicate way, stated the facts of the case.

Now, anyone knows that a battle flag *captured in a baggage wagon* does not possess the same interest for the world that a stand of colors taken in action does; and, while everyone accorded the 11th Virginia Cavalry full credit for their daring on the field of Sangster's Station, feeling was universal that the trophy, being returned to the City of New York, from whose troops it had been taken, lacked something essential to the inspiration of real enthusiasm over the event. The officers and cadets of the Institute over-sensitive, perhaps, felt that their position was an absurd one; but the generous conduct of the Mayor and other officials engaged in the reception of the flag (all of whom entered into the affair with the proper spirit) did much to reassure them.

From the Fifth Avenue Hotel the Battalion was marched down Broadway to the City Hall where the Superintendent, attended by his staff and the members of the Board, conveyed the trophy to the Mayor's Office, and presented the flag with a few appropriate

remarks (after accidentally smashing the costly chandelier fixtures with the pike-head of the staff) to the Chief Executive of the great metropolis.

Mayor Fernando Wood, a most distinguished gentleman, gracefully received the flag; and, in an appropriate speech of acceptance, expressed the sincere gratitude of the people of the City of New York, showing not the least suggestion of a lack of appreciation on their part.

After the presentation, the Corps was tendered by the Mayor a sumptuous repast, spread in the spacious lower apartments of the City Hall, the Commandant just arriving on the scene in time to check the dangerously generous libations of New York's best champagne, which were being poured out, to the delectation of the youthful soldiers.

So, ended an affair, if not farcical, certainly the most unwelcome one in which the Corps of Cadets, in its military capacity, has, perhaps, ever engaged; for, in spite of the appreciative manner in which the flag was received by official New York, the *Herald* had unintentionally given the whole affair the semblance of an *opera bouffe*.

But the incident was valuable, in that it pointed two morals which will long be remembered at the Institute; first, no military organization should receive the captured flags of another command; and second, let the command which takes them, return its own trophies!

pare the Corps for the field and to communicate with Breckinridge and Imboden, which he did, as follows:

"HEADQUARTERS, VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE,
"May 2, 1864.

"MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE,
"Commanding Dept. of Western Virginia, Dublin Depot.

"GENERAL—I have the honor to inclose herewith a letter from General R. E. Lee, commanding Army of Northern Virginia, addressed to the Adjutant-General of Virginia, also a copy of instructions from the Governor of Virginia, communicated by the Adjutant-General, defining my duty as Superintendent of the Virginia Military Institute. Under these instructions and suggestions, I now respectfully report to you for such orders as the emergencies of the approaching campaign may call forth. The Corps of Cadets number an aggregate of 280, of whom 250 may be relied upon for active duty, leaving 30 as a necessary guard to the Institute, and as disabled. The command is organized as a battalion of four companies, and is usually accompanied by a section of artillery. It is fully equipped, except in horses, and these are impressed in case of need. We have abundance of ammunition, tents, knapsacks, shovels, and picks, and will be prepared to march at a moment's notice. Brigadier-General Imboden is about constructing telegraphic communication between the Institute and Staunton. This, he hopes to have in operation by the middle of May. In the meantime, he will communicate with us by signals. Any orders, or intelligence from Dublin Depot, had better be forwarded to General Imboden, at Staunton, with instructions to be immediately (transmitted) to me.

"I remain, General,
"Very respectfully,
"Your obedient servant,
"FRANCIS H. SMITH,
*"Brevet Major-General and Superintendent."**

The following prompt reply was received from Breckinridge:

"HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF WEST VIRGINIA,
"DUBLIN DEPOT, May 4, 1864.

"GENERAL FRANCIS H. SMITH,
"Superintendent, Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, Va.

"GENERAL—I have just received your letter of the 2d inst., concerning one from General Lee to the Adjutant-General of Virginia, also a copy of the instructions to you from the Governor.

*Rebellion Records, Series I, Vol. XXXVII, Part 1, pp. 707-708.

"I am gratified to learn that a battalion of cadets 250 strong, with a section of artillery, will be ready to move on a moment's notice. This force will be very effective in assisting to repel, or capture, destructive raiding parties.

"The limits of my department have not been defined in the east, and I have been unable to adopt many precautions east of Monroe and Greenbrier. I have, however, thrown up a work at the railroad bridge over the Cow Pasture, another at the bridge over Jackson River, and a line of rifle pits at Island Ford. Col. Wm. L. Jackson is covering the approaches to these points, and to Rockbridge, from that general direction. It may be necessary for you to move in that quarter, or to protect the Iron Furnace in Botetourt, or in Buchanan. I will try to send the earliest intelligence through General Imboden, as you suggest, or if it should be beyond reach of telegraph, by special courier.

"General Imboden will, of course, apprise you of my movements in direction of Millboro, Staunton, etc.

"Fully appreciating your patriotic feelings, and those of the young gentlemen you command,

"Your obedient servant,

"JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE."

While the Corps remained in restless ignorance of the probability of the early call which the foregoing communication indicated to the authorities, the following letter was forwarded to the Superintendent by the Governor, who directed that the flag mentioned be hoisted, as requested:

"March 6, 1864.

"HIS EXCELLENCY, WILLIAM SMITH,
"Governor of Virginia.

"SIR—I have received from Mr. H. Sheddon, of Liverpool, the enclosed letter, and the accompanying flag manufactured by him to be hoisted over the grave of the lamented Jackson. As the remains of the deceased hero repose in the immediate vicinity, if not actually within the precinct, of the Virginia Military Institute, a State institution with which he was connected as an honored professor, I have thought it most appropriate to commit the flag to the custody of your Excellency, feeling assured that you will take pleasure in carrying out the wishes of the generous donor.

"Very respectfully,
"Your obedient servant,
"JAMES A. SEDDEN,
"Secretary of War."

(INCLOSURE)

"10 WAFFLING, LIVERPOOL,
"25th January, 1864.

"TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE, THE SECRETARY OF WAR,
"Confederate States of America,
"Richmond, Virginia.

"SIR—Having read in some of the English papers that a flag is kept permanently hoisted over the grave of the late lamented General Stonewall Jackson, may I beg your acceptance of one I send with this letter to replace the one now in use when it shall have become worn out, as some slight expression of my admiration for the character and heroism of General Jackson, and also of my best wishes for the success of the Confederacy.

"I remain, sir, with much respect,

"Yours obediently,
"HUGH SHEDDON."

Accordingly, on May 9th, the Superintendent directed that the Corps be formed at 9 A. M. the following day, which was done; and the handsome flag was hoisted over his grave in the Lexington Cemetery by the Corps, on the First Anniversary of the death of Lieutenant-General Thomas Jonathan Jackson, late Professor, Virginia Military Institute, amid the plaudits of a great gathering of citizens.

How singular it was on that very day Breckinridge issued his order calling on the Corps of Cadets to take the field in his support!

On May 4th, Breckinridge, who had succeeded Jones in command of the Department of West Virginia in February, had been informed by President Davis that Sigel was advancing up the Valley against Imboden, and was requested to hasten to the defense of Staunton. May 6th, he set out from Pulaski County with Echols's Brigade, consisting of the 22d Virginia, the 26th Battalion, and the 23d Battalion, the 51st Virginia, Clarke's Battalion, 30th Virginia, of Wharton's Brigade; and Chapman's Battery, aggregating about 4,000 men. Reaching Staunton on the 8th, in advance of his troops, Breckinridge at once took charge of affairs.

Sigel's movements since the 2d had been characterized by the utmost slowness. Two flank columns of cavalry

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Barracks to the 'Limits' gate, and watched the full-orbed moon lift herself from the mountains. Perfume was in the air, silence in the shadows. Well might we quote:—

" 'How beautiful this night!
The balmiest sigh that vernal zephyrs breathe in evening's ear,
Were discord to the speaking quietude
That wraps this moveless scene. Heaven's ebon vault,
Bestudded with stars unutterably bright,
Through which the moon's unclouded
Splendor rolls, seems like a canopy which
Love hath spread, to shelter its
Sleeping world.' "

"And so, tranquil, composed by the delightful scenes around us, three hundred of us closed our eyes, and passed into happy dreams of youth and springtime.

"Hark! the drums are beating. Their throbbing bounds through every corner of the Barracks, saying to the sleepers, 'Be up and doing'. It is the long roll.

"Long roll had been beaten several times of late, sometimes to catch absentees, and once for a fire in the town. Grumblingly the cadets hurried down to their places in the ranks, expecting to be soon dismissed, and to return to their beds. A group of officers, intently scanning by the light of a lantern a paper held by the adjutant, stood near the statue of George Washington, opposite the arch. The companies were marched together. The adjutant commanded, 'Attention!' and proceeded to read the orders in his hands."*

Breckinridge's dispatch had been received and was as follows:

"STAUNTON, May 10, 1864.

"GENERAL F. H. SMITH,
"Commandant of Cadets, Virginia Military Institute,
"Lexington, Virginia.

"Sigel is moving up the Valley, was at Strasburg last night. I can not tell yet whether this is his destination. I would be glad to have your assistance at once, with the cadets, and the section of artillery. Bring all the forage and rations you can.

*End of an Era, John S. Wise.

"Have the reserves of Rockbridge ready, and let them send here for arms and ammunition, if they can not be supplied at Lexington.

"Very respectfully,

"JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE,
"Major-General."

And then followed the Superintendent's midnight order:

"HEADQUARTERS, VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE,
"May 11, 1864.

"GENERAL ORDERS—No. 18.

"I. Under the orders of Major-General John C. Breckinridge, Commanding Department of West Virginia, the Corps of Cadets and a Section of Artillery will forthwith take up the line of march for Staunton, Virginia, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Scott Shipp. The cadets will carry with them two days' rations.

"II. Captain J. C. Whitwell will accompany the expedition as Assistant Quartermaster and Commissary, and will see that the proper transportation, etc., is supplied.

"III. Surgeon R. L. Madison and Assistant Surgeon George Ross will accompany the expedition, and attend to the care of the sick and wounded.

"IV. Colonel Shipp, on arriving at Staunton, will report in person to Major-General Breckinridge, and await his further instructions.

"V. Captain T. M. Semmes is assigned to temporary duty on the staff of the Commanding Officer.

"By command, Major-General F. H. Smith,

"J. H. MORRISON,
"A. A., V. M. I."

" 'Parade's dismissed', piped the adjutant. The sergeants side-stepped us to our respective company-parades.

"Methinks that, even after thirty-three years, I once more hear the game-cock voices of the sergeants detailing their artillery and ammunition squads, and ordering us to appear with canteens, haversacks, and blankets at four A. M. Still, silence reigned. Then, as company after company broke ranks, the air was rent with wild cheering at the thought that our hour was come, at last.

"Elsewhere in the Confederacy, death, disaster, disappointment may have by this time chilled the ardor of

our people; but here, in this little band of fledglings, the hope of battle flamed as brightly as on the morning of Manassas.

"We breakfasted by candle-light, and filled our haversacks from the mess-hall tables. In the gray of morning, we wound down the hill to the river, tramped heavily across the bridge, ascended the pike beyond, cheered the fading turrets of the School; and sunrise found us going at a four-mile gait to Staunton, our gallant little battery rumbling behind."*

It rained intermittently throughout the day, but the Corps reached Midway, about 18 miles from Lexington, that afternoon, where it bivouacked for the night.

Meantime the Superintendent had forwarded the following communication to Breckinridge:

"HEADQUARTERS, VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE,
"May 11, 1864, 6 A. M.

"MAJOR-GENERAL J. C. BRECKINRIDGE,
"Commanding Department of Western Virginia.

"GENERAL—Your dispatch of yesterday by courier was received by me at 9 P. M. Immediately gave orders to Lieutenant-Colonel Shipp, commanding cadets, to have his battalion in readiness to move this morning at 7 o'clock. They are now forming and will reach Bell's, sixteen miles, to-day and be in Staunton to-morrow. I have issued to them rations for two days, and will send with them 500 pounds of bacon and as much beef as I can find transportation for. I have sixty-four barrels of flour near Staunton. I send 100 bushels of corn for forage. The cadets are armed with Austrian rifles and take 40 rounds of ammunition. The section of artillery will consist of 3-inch iron rifles, and the ammunition chests of the limbers will be filled. I have ten or twelve 6-pounder brass pieces here mounted and one 12-pounder howitzer, if any should be needed. Horses have been impressed for the artillery and transportation, but horses are slow in coming in. The artillery have orders to reach the infantry battalion to-night.

"I have ordered four companies of reserves to rendezvous here. I will arm and equip them, and hold them in readiness to move at a moment's notice. No commanding officers have been appointed to this battalion. I will direct the commander of the post of Lexington to supply rations, should they be called out. Your dispatch finds me very unwell, but I shall hope to be with you to-morrow.

*End of an Era, J. S. Wise.

Lieutenant-Colonel Scott Shipp has orders to report to you on reaching Staunton. If the reserve companies are required to move to Staunton, I will have them in readiness to move to-morrow, and shall get transportation for 6,000 pounds of bacon from the Commissary, Confederate States, here.

"FRANCIS H. SMITH,
*"Brevet Major-General."**

"May 11th. We surely 'dwell in the midst of alarms'. We were roused from our beds this morning at five o'clock by an order for the impressment of our horses to haul the institute cannon: then came Frank (Captain Preston, tactical officer, V. M. I.), Preston Cocke, and William Lewis (cadets), for a hurried breakfast, and provisions for their haversacks; ordered towards Winchester, where is Sigel with a large Yankee force. They left at 7 o'clock; all the Home Guard is ordered out too; so Lexington is left without men. Last night, firing was heard by a great many persons, more distinctly, they say, than ever before. They suppose it to be at Richmond. I'm thankful my husband is away on the errand of God's Church, and so escapes going to Winchester. He will regret it no little!"**

May 12th the Corps reached Staunton. "We were in every way fitted for this kind of work by our hard drilling, and marched into Staunton in the afternoon of the second day, showing little effects of travel. We found a pleasant camping-ground on the outskirts of the town, and thither the whole population flocked for inspection of the Corps, and to witness dress-parade, for our fame was widespread. The attention bestowed upon the cadets was enough to turn the heads of much humbler persons than ourselves."†

Evening found the Confederate forces in Staunton in the shadow of impending battle, for couriers hourly arrived reporting Sigel's approach. Breckinridge, however, bold to the point of rashness, but no doubt counting much on the dullness of his adversary, determined

*Rebellion Records, Series I, Vol. XXXVII, Part 1, p. 730.
**Diary of Mrs. Preston, p. 179.
†End of an Era, J. S. Wise. The camp was just north of the town.

to move out the next morning to meet the enemy, and published the following order, which was read to the cadets at dress parade:

"HEADQUARTERS, VALLEY DISTRICT,
"STAUNTON, VA., May 12, 1864.

"GENERAL ORDERS—No. 1.

"I. The command will march to-morrow morning promptly at 6 o'clock, on turnpike to Harrisonburg.

"The following Order of March will be observed:

"Wharton's Brigade,
"Echols's Brigade,
"Corps of Cadets,
"Reserve Forces,
"Ambulances and Medical Wagons,
"Artillery,
"Trains.

"II. The artillery will, for the present, be united and form a battalion, under the command of Major McLaughlin.

"The trains will move behind the artillery in the order of their respective commands.

"III. Brigadier-General Echols will detail two companies under the command of a field-officer as guard for the trains.

"By command of Major-General Breckinridge,

"J. STODDARD JOHNSTON,
"A. A.-G."

To the various commanding officers the following circular was issued:

"CIRCULAR, May 12, 1864.

"I. The troops of this command will be ready to move at daylight to-morrow morning, with two (2) days' cooked rations. At least five (5) days' rations will be taken in the wagons, and more if possible.

"II. Commanding officers are directed to take sufficient steps to prevent the wagons from being overloaded with superfluous articles. No knapsacks, blankets, etc., etc., will be carried in the wagons, or on the pieces or caissons.

"By command of Major-General Breckinridge,

"W. B. MYERS,
*"A. A.-G."**

*From the original in General Shipp's possession.

That night, like Brussels on the eve of Waterloo, the town was hilarious. The cadets were in great demand at the dances which had been arranged for their entertainment. "The adoration bestowed upon us by the young girls disgusted the regular officers. Before our coming, they had things all their own way. Now, they found that fierce mustaches and heavy cavalry boots must give place to the downy cheeks and merry, twinkling feet we brought from Lexington. A big blond captain, who was wearing a stunning bunch of gilt aiguillettes, looked as if he would snap off my head when I trotted up and whisked his partner away from him. They could not, and would not, understand why girls preferred these little untitled whippersnappers to officers of distinction. Veterans forgot that youth loves youth.

"All this on the eve of a battle? Yes, of course. Why not? To be sure, everybody knew there was going to be a fight. That was what we came for. But nobody among us knew, or cared, just when or where it was coming off. Life is too full of trouble for petty officers, or privates, or young girls, to bother themselves hunting up such disagreeable details in advance. That was the business of generals. They were to have all the glory; and so we were willing they should have all the solicitude, anxiety, and preoccupation."*

On the 13th, the command went into camp at Mount Crawford, near Harrisonburg, while Sigel sent forward from Woodstock three regiments of infantry, 900 cavalry, and six guns, under Colonel Moor to feel for Imboden. Numerous couriers reported the advance of the enemy.

"HEADQUARTERS, VALLEY DISTRICT,
"MOUNT CRAWFORD, May 13, 1864.

"GENERAL ORDERS—No. 2.

"I. The command will move on the main road to Harrisonburg and New Market at daylight, to-morrow, in the following order:

"Echols's Brigade,
"Wharton's Brigade,

*End of an Era, J. S. Wise.

"Corps of Cadets,
"Artillery,
"Train.

"II. Col. Harman will keep his wagons and move in rear, but marching as fast as possible.

"Ambulances and medical wagons will move immediately in rear of their respective commands.

"Ammunition wagons will move in rear of the artillery. It will be regarded as a standing order that the wagons move in the order of their commands.

"III. Brigadier-General Wharton will detail two companies, with a field-officer as guard for the train.

"IV. The order of march must be closer than it was to-day, and the trains must be kept well closed up. Straggling and wandering into houses and grounds on the roadside by the officers and men will be stopped at once. Commanding officers will require the medical officers to march with their commands in their proper positions, and allow no one to fall behind but upon surgeon's certificate.

"V. Commanding officers will throw out small pickets on the roads leading to their encampments.

"By command of Major-General Breckinridge,

"J. STODDARD JOHNSTON,
*"A. A.-G."**

"Pressing on through Harrisonburg, which we reached early in the morning, we camped the second night (14th) at Mount Tabor, in Shenandoah; rain had set in, but the boys stood up well to their work, and but few lame ducks succumbed."**

During the day Moor's force gained contact with Imboden's brigade near Mount Jackson, and, forcing it across the Shenandoah, seized the bridge, then followed the retreating Confederates seven miles up the Valley to New Market.

"Evidences of the approach of the enemy multiplied throughout the day. We passed a great many vehicles coming up the Valley with people and farm products and household effects, and a number of herds of cattle and other livestock, all escaping from the Union troops; now and then a weary or wounded cavalryman came by. Their reports were that Sigel's steady advance was only

*From the original in General Shipp's possession.
**End of an Era, J. S. Wise.

delayed by a thin line of cavalry skirmishers, who had been ordered to retard him as best they could, until Breckinridge could march his army down to meet him.

"Towards evening, we came to a stone church and spring, where a cavalry detail with a squad of Union prisoners were resting. The prisoners were a gross, surly-looking lot of Germans, who could not speak English. They evidently could not make us out. They watched us with manifest curiosity, and talked in unintelligible, gutteral sounds among themselves.

"When we reached camp, the rain had stopped and the clouds had lifted, but everything was wet and gummy. Looking down the Valley, as evening closed in, we could see a line of bivouac fires, and were uncertain whether they were lit by our own pickets, or by the enemy. At any rate, we were getting sufficiently near to the gentlemen whom we were seeking to feel reasonably certain we should meet them.

"Night closed in upon us; for a little while the woodland resounded with the axe-stroke, or the cheery halloos of the men from camp-fire to camp-fire; for a while the fire lights danced, the air laden with the odor of cooking food; for a while the boys stood around the camp fires for warmth, and to dry their wet clothing; but soon all had wrapped their blankets around them and lain down in silence, unbroken save by the champing of the Colonel's horse upon his provender, or the fall of a passing shower."*

Thus bivouacked the command from which the next day so many were called to their final sleep. Boys they may have been who dozed off to Nature's lullaby that night, on the damp pallet of the soft fields—a couch, as we have seen, by no means unfamiliar to them —but ere another sunset they had grown to the stature of men—heroic men—to whom the veterans no longer sang "Rock-a-bye, Baby," as they had done upon the arrival of the Corps in Staunton.

*End of an Era, J. S. Wise. Most of the cadets slept in the stone church at Mount Tabor.

Moor's success in driving Imboden back upon New Market was Sigel's undoing, for having first determined to make the stand at Mount Jackson, on the night of the 14th, he found his army divided by a distance of nineteen miles, one part at Woodstock and the other at New Market. Early the next morning he ordered his remaining troops to advance, and by 10 A. M. they reached Mount Jackson. At this point he received dispatches from Moor advising him of the excellent position at New Market, seven miles up the Valley. He now wavered, and then decided to strike out for New Market, reaching that point himself about noon, but soon perceived that he would not be able to consolidate his command in time to use its full strength during the day. He, therefore, faltered again, and, instead of fighting a delaying action in the position Moor held, ordered his advance-guard commander to fall back slowly, in the hope of effecting a speedier junction between the two parts of his army. It seems clear now that he should either have allowed Moor to show a firm front, or have ordered him to retire rapidly to Mount Jackson, thereby reaping the advantages of disorder among the pursuers.

"In 1864, the town of New Market consisted of two or three rows of houses built along the turnpike which runs northeast through the Shenandoah Valley. It possessed a certain strategic importance, in that it lay at the intersection of the Valley Turnpike and the road which runs to Luray. To the west of the pike is the north fork of the Shenandoah. At the river there are high bluffs from which the land slopes gradually down towards the pike; while from New Market the country, rising slowly to the north and abruptly to the southwest, culminates in two hills, on which, at one time or another, the opposing armies made their stand. To the south the Confederates were posted on Shirley's Hill, to the north the Federal forces occupied Bushong's Hill, and, at the close of the battle, Rude's Hill, some distance to the rear. In 1864, these hills were pastures and wheat fields, intersected now and then by fences and stone

walls. Between Shirley's Hill and Bushong's Hill, in one place there was a shallow ravine. The scene which was closed by the river bluffs on the west, was shut in on the east by the Massanutten Mountain, a mile or more to the east of the pike, approach to which was rendered difficult by intervening marches and woodlands. Between the pike and the mountain, Smith's Creek, a small stream, flows northward to empty into the Shenandoah. On the west, then, was the river, on the east the mountain; to the north and to the south the hills seized by the hostile forces; down the middle ran the turnpike, and in the center lay the town of New Market.

"During the day preceding, May 14th, the Confederates under Imboden had been resisting the advance of the Federal troops; but, after sharp skirmishes, they had been forced to fall back before what they reported as overwhelming numbers, and the van of the Federal Army had crossed the river. This was while Imboden, going to meet General Breckinridge, had left Colonel George H. Smith of the 62d Virginia in command.* Imboden says that the advance of the Federals had been so cautious that he did not believe that Sigel would cross the Shenandoah on the 14th. When this occurred, however, he galloped back with orders to hold the town at all hazards. He found that Colonel Smith had admirably disposed his troops. New Market was held during the day, and an artillery duel maintained with the enemy. On the evening of the 14th, Breckinridge ordered Imboden to continue falling back, hoping thus to lure Sigel on to attack the Confederate Army in some strong position south of New Market. In this he failed, for, by morning of the 15th, the Federal forces had occupied the town, and from thence advanced no farther, except that the skirmish line was sent a little to the south. That Breckinridge still desired to be attacked is shown by the fact that he ordered Imboden forward to charge the enemy and then retreat, hoping

*Colonel Smith was graduated from the Institute in the Class of '53.

thus to lure them into a pursuit. Imboden tried it a number of times, but in vain. That being so, Breckinridge, true to the plan which he had so far followed, took the initiative once more, and made ready for attack on the enemy in their own position."*

"An hour past midnight the sound of hoofs upon the pike caught my ear, and in a few moments the challenge of the sentry summoned me. The newcomer was an aide-de-camp bearing orders for Colonel Shipp from the commanding General. When I aroused the Commandant he struggled up, rubbed his eyes, muttered something about moving at once, and ordered me to arouse the camp without having the drums beaten. Orders to fall in were promptly given, rolls were rattled off, the Battalion formed, and we debouched upon the pike, heading in the darkness and mud for New Market."

Before taking up the march the Commandant requested Colonel Gilham, who had accompanied the Corps as a representative of the Superintendent, to deliver a prayer, but Colonel Gilham suggested that Captain Preston be called upon to do this. A cadet who was present describes the incident as follows:

"Before the command to march was given, a thing occurred which made a deep impression upon us all—a thing which even now may be a solace to those whose boys died so gloriously that day. In the gloom of the night, Captain Frank Preston, neither afraid nor ashamed to pray, sent up an appeal to God for His protection of our little band; it was an humble, earnest petition that sunk into the heart of every hearer. Few were the dry eyes, little the frivolity, when he had ceased to speak of home, of father, of mother, of country, of victory and defeat, of life, of death, of eternity. Captain Preston had been an officer in Stonewall Jackson's command; had lost an arm at Winchester; was on the retired list; and was sub-professor of Latin, and tactical officer of B Company; those who, a few hours later,

*The New Market Campaign, Edward Raymond Turner.

saw him commanding his company in the thickest of the fight, his already empty sleeve attesting that he was no stranger to the perilous edge of battle, realized fully the beauty of the lines which tell that 'the bravest are the tenderest, the loving are the daring.'

"Day broke gray and gloomy upon us toiling onward in the mud. The sober course of our reflections was relieved by the light-heartedness of the veterans. We overtook Wharton's Brigade, with smiling 'Old Gabe,' like Echols, a Virginia Military Institute 'boy,' at their head. They were squatting by the roadside cooking breakfast as we came up. With many good-natured gibes they restored our confidence; they seemed as merry, nonchalant, and indifferent to the coming fight as if it were their daily occupation. A tall, round-shouldered fellow, whose legs seemed almost split up to his shoulder-blades, came among us with a pair of shears and a pack of playing cards, offering to take our names and cut love-locks to be sent home after we were dead; another inquired if we wanted rosewood coffins, satin-lined, with name and age on the plate. In a word, they made us ashamed of the depressing solemnity of our last six miles of marching, and renewed within our breasts the true dare-devil spirit of soldiery.

"Resuming the march, the mile posts numbered four, three, two, one mile to New Market; then, the mounted skirmishers hurried past us to their position at the front. We heard loud cheering at the rear, which was caught up by the troops along the line of march. We learned its import as General John C. Breckinridge and staff approached; and we joined heartily in the cheering as the soldierly man, mounted magnificently, galloped past, uncovered, bowing, and riding like a Cid. It is impossible to exaggerate the gallant appearance of General Breckinridge. In stature he was considerably over six feet high. He sat his blood-bay thoroughbred as if he had been born on horseback; his head was of a noble mould, and a piercing eye and long, dark, drooping mustache completed a faultless military presence.

"Deployed along the crest of an elevation in our front, we could see our line of mounted pickets and the smouldering fires of their last night's bivouac. We halted at a point where passing a slight turn in the road would bring us in full view of the position of the enemy. Echols's and Wharton's brigades hurried past us. 'Forward!' was the word once more, and, turning the point in the road, New Market was in full view, and the whole position was displayed."*

Thus did the Corps of Cadets actually arrive on its third field of battle; but this time it was not to be denied a glorious reward for the hardships it had borne, though dear was the price it paid.

*End of an Era, J. S. Wise.

CHAPTER XXI

THE BATTLE OF NEW MARKET, MAY 15, 1864

"THE battle of New Market may be divided into three parts: first, the struggle between the Confederates and the first, or advanced, position of the Federal Army, for the most part an artillery duel, lasting for an hour or more, just before midday; second, the struggle between the advancing Confederates and the larger part of the Federal Army posted in the chosen position of Bushong's Hill, to the north of the town; and third, the pursuit of the Federal forces to Rude's Hill, and afterwards until they had crossed the Shenandoah River.

"In the arrangement and handling of his troops, Breckinridge displayed dexterity and judgment. While yet upon Shirley's Hill, he marched and countermarched his men in sight of the enemy, with the purpose, it would seem, of magnifying his numbers. Having made his army seem more numerous than it really was, he completed the deception by arranging his troops in three lines. The first line consisted of the 51st Virginia Regiment (Lieutenant-Colonel Wolfe), and the 30th Virginia Battalion and 62d Virginia Regiment (Colonel George H. Smith), these regiments being under the command of Brigadier-General Gabriel C. Wharton; the second line was made up of the 22d Virginia Regiment (Colonel George S. Patton), and the 23d Virginia Battalion (Lieutenant-Colonel Clarence Derrick); the third and last line comprised the 26th Virginia Battalion (Lieutenant-Colonel George M. Edgar), and the Cadets of the Virginia Military Institute (Lieutenant-Colonel Scott Shipp)."*

"The battle began with the firing of artillery and the advance of the Confederate skirmishers, the 30th Vir-

*Smith, V. M. I., '53; Wharton, V. M. I., '47; Patton, V. M. I., '52; Edgar, V. M. I., '56; Shipp, V. M. I., '59; Echols, V. M. I., '48.

ginia Battalion of Colonel Lyle Clarke, and sharpshooters, who gradually drove in the Federal skirmishers from their advanced position to the south of New Market. Meanwhile some of the Confederates were engaged in throwing up a hasty breastwork of rails, brush, and earth, at right angles to the pike, so that there might be a line back of which to rally in case of need."*

As the Corps of Cadets came upon the field, a thrilling panorama spread out before it."**

"It was Sunday morning at eleven o'clock. In a picturesque little Lutheran churchyard, under the very shadow of the village spire and among the white tombstones, a six-gun battery was posted in rear of the infantry lines of the enemy. Firing over the heads of their own troops, that battery opened upon us the moment we came in sight.

"Away off to the right, in Luray Gap, we could see our Signal Corps telegraphing the position and numbers of the enemy. Our cavalry was galloping to the cover of the creek to attempt to turn the enemy's left flank. Echols's Brigade, moving from the pike at a double-quick by the right flank, went into line of battle across the meadow, its left resting on the pike. Simultaneously, its skirmishers were thrown forward at a run, and engaged the enemy. Out of the orchard and on the meadows, puff after puff of blue smoke rose as the sharpshooters advanced, the pop, pop, pop of their rifles ringing forth excitingly. Thundering down the pike came McLaughlin with his artillery. Wheeling out upon the meadows, he swung into battery, action left, and let fly with all his guns.

"The cadet section of artillery pressed down the pike a little farther, turned to the left, toiled up the slope in front of us, and, going into position, delivered a plunging fire in reply to the Federal battery (Von Kleiser's) in the graveyard. We counted it a good omen when, at the first discharge of our little guns, a beautiful blue-white wreath of smoke shot upward and hovered over

*Turner.
**End of an Era, J. S. Wise.

them. The town, which a moment before had seemed to sleep peaceably upon that Sabbath morning, was now wrapped in battle-smoke and was swarming with troops hurrying to their positions. We had their range beautifully. Every shell hit some obstruction, and exploded in the streets, or on the hillsides. Every man in our army was in sight. Every position of the enemy was plainly visible. His numbers were uncomfortably large; for, notwithstanding his line of battle already formed seemed equal to our own, the pike beyond the town was still filled with his infantry."*

"The Federal forces in their first, or advanced, position, in and about New Market, were commanded by Colonel Augustus Moor, and consisted of the 1st New York Cavalry; the cavalry of Colonel John E. Wynkoop, numbering about 300, and made up of detachments of the 15th New York, 20th Pennsylvania, and 22d Pennsylvania; the 34th Regiment of Massachusetts Infantry, Colonel George D. Wells; the 1st West Virginia, Lieutenant-Colonel Jacob Weddle; and the 123d Ohio Regiment, Major Horace Kellogg. There were also two sections of Battery B, Snow's Maryland Artillery, comprising four guns."**

The Cadet Battalion was deployed under cover of the rear crest of Shirley's Hill, by the left flank from the pike, and, moving out at double-quick, was soon in line of battle, with its right resting near the road, and concealed from the enemy by the crest of the hill in front. It was while in this position that General Breckinridge with his staff rode by and gave the Commandant of Cadets his orders to the effect that his command would form the reserve, and suggested that he dismount, as that was what all the field-officers would do. The Commandant then took occasion to express his hope that the cadets, after so much marching and so many previous disappointments, would not be denied a chance to take part in the action. Whereupon, the command-

*Consult map of battlefield from now on.
**Turner.

ing general said he did not wish to expose them unnecessarily, but would use them very freely, were developments such as to justify it.

"The command was given to strip for action; knapsacks, blankets—everything but guns, canteens and cartridge boxes was thrown upon the ground. Every lip was tightly drawn, every cheek pale, but none with fear. With a peculiar, nervous jerk, we pulled our cartridge boxes round to the front, laid back the flaps, and tightened belts. Whistling rifled shells screamed over us, as tipping the hill crest in our front, they bounded past."*

Under the accurate and effective fire of the Confederate guns, Von Kleiser's Battery was soon compelled to withdraw from the graveyard up the pike. "The 18th Connecticut Regiment had now come up to Moor's assistance, and, shortly after, Major-General Stahel with the remainder of the cavalry. There was some fighting in the streets of New Market and about the town, but shortly after noon, General Sigel arrived upon the scene and decided to form his lines upon the hill (Bushong's) north of the town. Accordingly, the Federal troops abandoned their first position. This part of the engagement was followed by heavy artillery firing on both sides, which lasted for some time, but did comparatively little damage."*

The Confederate Artillery consisted of Chapman's Battery, two 6-pounder guns and four 12-pounder howitzers; two sections of Jackson's Battery, four 6-pounder guns; McClannahan's six 3-inch rifles; and the Cadet 3-inch rifled section under Cadet Collier H. Minge of A Company, all under the command of Major William McLaughlin. This was the first time a cadet had commanded the artillery of the Corps in the field, Captain Semmes, or Captain T. H. Smith, having been detailed in charge of the section by the Commandant on previous occasions.

*End of an Era, J. S. Wise. This is an error. The Battalion did not strip for action at this point as we shall see.
**Turner.

The second stage of the battle was marked by the advance of the Confederates, between 1 and 2 P. M., to the attack of the new Federal position on Bushong's Hill.

As the original Confederate left and center which had been formed on the face of Shirley's Hill pressed forward, the 26th Battalion moved from the third into the second line, forming on the left of the 62d Regiment, leaving the cadets alone in the third line as reserve. As the attack developed, the 26th Battalion, due to the widening of the front and the contraction of the line of battle towards the center, worked its way into the first line on the left of the 51st Regiment, and moved along Indian Hollow next to the river.

"Up to this time, although the Cadet Artillery had done good service in helping to silence the Federal battery in New Market, the Cadet Corps had taken no part, but had been held in the rear. . . . Now, however, when the Confederate commander marshalled his scanty numbers, it was impossible for him to spare any of his forces, and the cadets were ordered to the immediate rear of the main lines, so that as the army went forward they also came under fire. This order they had awaited eagerly, as there were few of them who did not burn to take part in the fight."*

" 'At-ten-tion-n-n! Battalion forward! Guide Center-r-r,' shouted Shipp, and up the slope we started. From the left of the line, Sergeant-Major Woodbridge ran out and posted himself forty paces in advance of the colors, as directing guide, as if we had been upon the drill-ground. That boy would have remained there, had not Shipp ordered him back to his post; for this was no dress parade. Brave Evans, standing six feet two, shook out the colors that for days had hung limp and bedraggled about the staff, and every cadet leaped forward, dressing to the ensign and thrilling with the consciousness that this was war.

*Turner.

"Moving up to the hill crest in our front, we were abreast of our smoking battery, and uncovered to the range of the enemy's guns. We were pressing towards him at 'arms port', moving with the light, tripping gait of the French infantry. The enemy's veteran artillery soon obtained our range, and began to drop shells under our very noses along the slope. Echols's Brigade rose up, and was charging on our right front with the well-known rebel yell.

"Down the green slope we went, answering the wild cry of our comrades as their muskets rattled in opening volleys. 'Double time!' shouted Shipp, and we broke into a long trot. In another moment, a pelting rain of lead would fall upon us from the blue line in our front."* In a few minutes a shell from one of Carlin's guns on Bushong's Hill burst just in front of the line, and Captain A. Govan Hill, Tactical Officer of C Company, and four cadets, Corporal Wise, J. S., D Co., Private Woodlief, P. W., Jr., B Co., and Privates Merritt, J. L., and Read, C. H., Jr., of C Co., were struck to the ground.

Breckinridge's left and center were now in echelon, with its left against the river bluff, slightly overlapping, and several hundred yards in advance of the left of the center echelon, the right of which extended toward the pike. As the Corps of Cadets moved forward from under the cover of Shirley's Hill and down its forward face, it found itself well behind the left of the rear echelon, but rapidly closed up the distance as it swung forward down Shirley's Hill. Across the turnpike, beyond the center, or the second echelon, were the 23d and 18th Virginia Regiments, McNeill's Rangers, two sections of McClannahan's Battery, and various small detachments of Imboden's Cavalry, while McLaughlin moved forward along the pike abreast of the battle line, with the fourteen guns under his immediate command, firing from successive positions.

*End of an Era, J. S. Wise.

In the first stage of the battle, then, Breckinridge formed his line as follows:

51st Va., 30th Va., 62d Va. Artillery,
22d Va., 23d Va.
26th Va., Cadets.

Upon moving to the attack of Bushong's Hill, the following formation was taken up:

51st Va., 30th Va., 62d Va.

NEW MARKET

26th Va., 22d Va., Artillery,
(4 guns), 23d Va., 18th Va. Cavalry,
Cadets.

The Federals had occupied a position of great natural strength along the brow of Bushong's Hill, with the right resting on the precipitous wooded river bluff, and the left resting near the pike and partly protected by thick cedar thickets and woods occupying the space between the pike and Smith's Creek, and extending on beyond to the base of the steep mountain side. The field of fire to the front was almost unobstructed from right to left, and stone fences afforded partial cover for the infantry. The approach to the Federal center was across a large wheat field, deep with mud. In front of the left center were numerous scattered scrub cedars.

Four hundred yards to the front of his main position, Sigel placed the 123d Ohio and 18th Connecticut, of Moor's Brigade, the left of the former resting on the pike and the latter prolonging the line to its right; Von Kleiser's 30th New York Battery, with six 12-pounder Napoleons, took position across the pike, and abreast of Moor's right.

In the second, or main line, D Battery, 1st West Virginia, Captain John Carlin, and B Battery, Maryland, Captain Alonzo Snow, each with six 3-inch rifled guns, occupied the high ground near the river bluff; and, then, in order, to the left were posted the 34th Massachusetts,

the 1st West Virginia, the 54th Pennsylvania, G Battery, 1st West Virginia, Captain C. T. Ewing, with four 3-inch rifles. A company of the 34th Massachusetts was assigned as a support for Carlin's and Snow's Batteries; the 12th West Virginia was held in reserve, some distance behind the artillery group, and Stahel's cavalry guarded the left rear, beyond the pike and over by Smith's Creek. The 28th and 116th Ohio Regiments were near Mount Jackson, and B Battery, 5th U. S. Artillery, Captain H. A. du Pont, remained in position at the crossing of the river.

No sooner did the Confederate infantry come into the open than the well-served Federal batteries opened upon it with vigor and accuracy. But the echelons moved forward rapidly, while Imboden reconnoitered a route by which to move his cavalry across Smith's Creek, under cover of the thicket intervening between Stahel's Cavalry and the extreme Confederate right. Finding such a path, Imboden led the 18th Virginia Cavalry and McClannahan's four guns down the Luray road over the creek; and, from the crossing under cover of a low hill, he gained a position immediately upon Stahel's left flank. At this point, the guns were unlimbered and opened a rapid fire at short range upon the opposing horsemen beyond the creek; whereupon, the Federal Cavalry retired in haste. McClannahan now opened a long range enfilading fire upon Von Kleiser's Battery and Moor's left near the pike, which was most disconcerting, as such a fire is well calculated to be.

In the meantime, the Confederate infantry west of the pike had resolutely pressed forward, and now drove Sigel's advanced line, under Moor, from its position. The regiments composing this line fled precipitately upon the approach of the Confederates, carrying confusion to those posted at the main position, and Von Kleiser was compelled to limber up with his battery, which had inflicted severe loss upon the assailants. The 23d Virginia Battalion now occupied the space between the pike and the creek, beyond which Imboden's Cavalry

and McClannahan's two sections remained. The Confederate right and center had reached a point just beyond Moor's abandoned position, and almost abreast of the Bushong House, in rear of which stood an orchard. West and north of the orchard was the large wheat field extending from the house to the main artillery group. By the time the main Confederate line reached Moor's abandoned position, the cadet battalion had descended the north face of Shirley's Hill, and was under cover in the deep ravine running westward from New Market. Here the battalion halted for some time, stripped for action, and filled canteens at a spring beside the road.

Before progressing to the third stage of the action, Breckinridge, perceiving the enemy's artillery position to be the key of Sigel's whole line, reinforced the first echelon with the 26th Virginia Battalion, which he moved from the left of the rear echelon to the left of the 51st Virginia. In the subsequent advance, the 51st and 26th Virginia moved to the left of a wooded tongue of highland which jutted forward from the bend of the river abreast of the Bushong House, parallel to, and at a distance of half a mile from, the pike.

With the 23d Battalion extended in line of skirmishers, supported by McLaughlin's guns holding the cavalry of the Federal left at bay, Breckinridge now ordered the final assault.

As the line advanced, the 26th Battalion moved forward along Indian Hollow on the left of the 51st Regiment beyond the wooded hill; but the flat narrowed so rapidly it was soon compelled to follow the 51st. Protected by the wood and the high ground at first, the 51st Regiment finally reached open ground, where it met a galling fire from the sharpshooters on the river bluff, from Carlin's and Snow's guns, and the company of the 34th Massachusetts supporting them. Here, farther advance was checked. Meantime, Colonel Patton with the 22d Virginia and the 62d Virginia, like the regiments on the left, had been checked and his

men were lying under cover of a deep fold in the ground between the Bushong House and the pike.

It has been shown how the Confederate center and left had been brought to a standstill. We shall now take the words of Dr. Turner as to what happened, and the reader, if he be a soldier, will reach his own conclusion as to the importance of the part played by the Corps of Cadets.

"It appeared as though Breckinridge had been overbold and had run upon disaster. The enemy was unshaken; there was a break in the Confederate line, and some of the men were beginning to rush away to the rear. It was at this critical juncture that the cadets, who had been appointed to act as a reserve, moved forward into the forefront of the contest and filled up the gap. They took position between the 51st Virginia Regiment and part of the 30th Battalion, which was fighting with (and on the left of) the 62d Virginia. They had now become part of the first line of battle.

"The movements of the cadets at this time are known somewhat in detail. They had preserved their order splendidly during the heavy cannon fire, and had pressed forward in such beautiful alignment as to excite the admiration of all who saw them. It was remarked by a Southern officer who watched them from a point of vantage that they kept their course as if marching on dress parade. After ascending the hill at the base of which they had halted, they came to an open field, muddy from the rains and exceedingly difficult to cross. A slight confusion was caused by the ends (wings) of the Battalion advancing faster than the center and so beyond it, thus causing the line hitherto straight to become curved; but here was displayed admirable coolness and discipline, for, in the midst of a terrible artillery fire, the line soon rectified, after which they proceeded in as perfect order as before.*

*In advancing from the ravine the Battalion was now and then protected by folds in the ground from the direct fire of the enemy. From the ravine to the close of the Bushong House is about half a mile. The cadets were exposed to direct fire the last half of this distance, losing three killed at this stage of their advance, the number including First Sergeant Cabell of D Co., and Privates Stanard and McDowell of B Co.

"At the edge of the field was a frame house with other buildings, known by the name of the owner, Bushong. Beyond was an orchard, and then a plateau, which formed the top of the hill, and which was also an open field. When the house was reached, the cadets divided, Companies A and B passing to the right, Companies C and D to the left. After the line was reformed on the other side, they found the grimmest part of their task before them; and it was here that their most terrible losses occurred. From the Federal position beyond, the artillery had perfect range, and poured in a fire of canister and shrapnel, incessant and terrific. Moreover, the distance was now short, and masses of Federal infantry played upon them with incessant volleys. Accordingly, for a time the advance was halted."

It was at this point of the advance, after he had corrected the alignment of the Battalion by marking time, just beyond the Bushong House, that the Commandant, always in front, was struck on the left shoulder by a heavy but spent fragment of shell, and literally swept from his feet. For a time he was apparently stunned, though he was not wounded except very slightly in the face, probably by a tiny piece of shell.

"The position of Sigel's Army was so well chosen, and so well defended, that for a while it seemed impossible to force it. During some time the Confederate advance was checked, and certain regiments were rolled back and thrown into confusion. The front lines melted away under the terrific fire. Echols's men were still occupied on the right; some of Wharton's command fell into disorder. From the Federal lines, the tide of battle seemed to be running strongly against the Confederates. Sigel afterwards described this part of the action as a very sharp conflict, in which the enemy charged repeatedly and with determination, but were as often repulsed by the bravery and coolness of his infantry on the right. It is the opinion of an officer who watched the struggle that had Sigel hurled his cavalry into the opening in the advancing line, that is, between the 51st

and 62d regiments, at this critical moment, the Confederates would have been put to total route."*

It is well here to note what had happened to the Federal Cavalry. Not only had Stahel been compelled to retire his command out of range of McClannahan's guns, but it had been severely punished by McLaughlin's artillery earlier in the day, and was in no condition to be massed in the open. Cavalry simply can not withstand the fire of artillery, nor is it expected to do so. It was created for other work, and must leave the infantry to face the guns. When the Confederate right reached the town, the men became somewhat disordered in the streets, and, seeing their confusion, Stahel formed some of his men in columns of platoons, on the pike north of the town, and ordered them forward at the gallop to clear it of the Confederates. He had failed to observe McLaughlin's advance with the infantry, and as the troops pressed up the pike, the men of Derrick's command scrambled to the sides of the road and gave the guns a clear field of fire.

"Heavens! what a blizzard McLaughlin gave them! They staggered, wheeled and fled. The road was filled with fallen men and horses. A few riderless steeds came galloping towards our lines, neighed, circled and rejoined their comrades. One daring fellow, whose horse became unmanageable, rode straight at our battery at full speed, passed beyond, behind, and around our line, and safely rejoined his comrades—cheered for his courage by his enemies. This was the end of the cavalry in the fight."**

After this incident, Stahel held his cavalry immediately in rear of the Federal left, until Imboden's enfilade fire compelled it to be again retired, as has been shown.

*Turner.
**End of an Era, J. S. Wise.

CHAPTER XXII

THE CHARGE OF THE CADETS

RETURNING to the stage of the main conflict in which the Confederate line of battle was shown to have reached a point from which it seemed unable to advance, let us again quote Turner:

"It is known now that the Southern soldiers stood their ground stoutly. Where the wavering was at its worst, most of them seem to have held their own under the cannonade; and from what has come down concerning this stage of the battle, the conduct of the several divisions (commands) seems to have been replete with heroic incidents. Nevertheless, here was a moment of greatest danger.

"When the cadets reformed their line on the north side of Bushong's house, they filled in the gap between the 51st Virginia Regiment on their left and the 52d Virginia Regiment, with the attached companies of the 30th Virginia Battalion, on their right. *They were in the van of the battle, and at one time seem to have been in advance of the other commands.* To each side their comrades were suffering heavily, especially the 62d Virginia, to the right. *While the veterans around them were wavering,* they also suffered fearfully from the combined artillery and musketry fire. The young soldiers were falling right and left, and for a while it seemed that they could go no farther.

"This was one of the most critical moments in the battle of New Market. Breckinridge was in danger of defeat. He had boldly taken the aggressive, and, so far, success had attended his efforts, for he had pushed a portion of the Federal Army out of New Market, and his right wing had driven back the Federal left, while Imboden had gained a position on the Federal flank.

But Imboden's men were practically useless where they were, and the town was untenable so long as the Federal forces remained on the heights beyond. To drive them out, Breckinridge had launched all his remaining strength in a frontal attack, and this attack seemed to be meeting with failure. On the right, Echols's commands (22d Regiment, Col. Patton, and 23d Battalion, Major Derrick) had made little progress; on the left, Wharton's men had advanced farther to within striking distance of the enemy, but, with the exception of the 26th Battalion, had suffered so heavily as to be compelled to fall back.

*"It was at this deadly moment that the cadets of the Virginia Military Institute pushed out into the orchard beyond Bushong's House."**

Here, let us interpolate that Colonel Edgar (whose 26th Virginia Battalion had been crowded out of the front line on the left of the 51st before the latter came out into the open on the crest of the wooded tongue of highland, beyond which it had progressed to a point several hundred yards short of the Bushong House) was now leading his men up out of Indian Hollow to Wharton's line, to the left and rear of the cadets.**

The 62d Virginia had been compelled to fall back slightly, and seeing its movement to the rear, Sigel had ordered Von Kleiser's Battery (which Imboden, Derrick and McLaughlin had driven from the town) into action on the summit of Bushong's Hill, at the very northern end of the wheat field and opposite the cadets, for that was the very key-point of the Federal position. While the Corps of Cadets was yet moving into position behind the fence forming the northern boundary of the orchard and the southern boundary of the wheat field, Woodson's company of Missourians moved forward again from the left of the 62d Virginia, and heroically assailed Von Kleiser's Battery. But while their accurate musketry fire temporarily drove the cannoneers

*Turner, p. 81.
**See Turner, pp. 50-51.

from their places, their numbers were inadequate to the task they had essayed, and their heroism only led to the annihilation of the gallant company which lost six killed and 54 wounded, out of a total of 76 men, in a few minutes.

By this time, the cadets had reached the cover of the fence, and Von Kleiser's guns resumed their fire. Woodson's effort, of course, had had no effect upon the fire of Carlin's and Snow's batteries, which had fired continuously upon the cadets while moving past the Bushong House and through the orchard.

"Close to them (cadets) now was Sigel's Army shooting from the fences and cedar groves, while nearer still were the Federal batteries which had already wrought such havoc in the advancing lines. The cadets seemed to have rushed into certain destruction. *The artillery concentrated upon them its fire, continuous and terrific*, hurling shells into the orchard and tearing the trees to pieces. Their Commandant, Lieutenant-Colonel Shipp, was wounded by a piece of shell; whereupon, there began a wavering and confusion among them. Some one gave the order to lie down. They obeyed, and began firing from the ground, crouching behind a worm fence along the northern edge of the orchard. But the firing of the cannon in front of them continued with fearful effect, until at last the cry arose that they should fall back and rally *on the veterans to the rear. Fortunately, this was not done, but the cadets continued to fire from their exposed position, though all the while they were being riddled.*"*

"The men were falling right and left. The veterans on the right of the cadets seemed to waver. Colonel Shipp went down. For the first time, the cadets appeared irresolute. Some one cried out, 'Lie down!' and all obeyed, firing from the knee—all but Evans, the ensign, who was standing bolt upright, shouting and waving the flag. Some one exclaimed, 'Fall back, and rally on Edgar's Battalion!' Several boys moved as if

*Turner, pp. 81-82. Parentheses are the writer's.

to obey. Pizzini, the first sergeant, of B Company, with his Corsican blood at the boiling point, cocked his rifle and proclaimed that he would shoot the first man who ran. Preston, brave and inspiring in command of B Company, smilingly lay down upon his remaining arm, with the remark that he would at least save that. Colonna, cadet captain of D, was speaking low to the men of his company words of encouragement, and bidding them shoot close. The Corps was being decimated."*

The obvious effect of the resolution of the Corps of Cadets in clinging to their advanced position was to cause the Federal artillery which had up to this time been dividing its attention between the cadets and the 51st Regiment, on their left, to concentrate on the cadets, which relieved the pressure on the 51st Regiment and 26th Battalion, to their *left rear,* thus enabling them to reform and engage at an advantage with the infantry company of the 34th Massachusetts supporting the Federal artillery group. The men of this company had been thrown out as sharpshooters along the wooded bluff overhanging the river, on the extreme Confederate left and on the right of the Federate batteries.

"At this opportune moment (the crisis of the cambat), when victory seemed within his reach, Sigel launched the counter-attack upon the enemy before him. The 34th Massachusetts with the adjoining regiments (forming the line to the left of the batteries at the north end of the wheat field and beyond the scrub cedars between the wheat field and the turnpike) sprang forward at the 51st, the cadets, and the 62d. Had the charge been well directed and firmly pressed, it might have decided the day. The 54th Pennsylvania fought well, but was forced to retreat (by the 22d Virginia on the right of the 62d Virginia), while the 1st West Virginia suffered heavily (at the hands of the 62d Virginia and the right wing of the Cadet Battalion), and halted almost at once. The 34th Massachusetts, however,

*End of an Era, J. S. Wise. Observe how this account corresponds almost exactly with Turner's. It was written years before the latter.

charged down nearly to the fence, behind which the cadets had their position. *Could they have done this somewhat earlier, before the cadets occupied the gap, they would have found the place unoccupied, and it may be would have broken the Confederate line.* This was where the cadets did their best service. With the men to the right and left of them, they held the place with stubborn resolution (the troops on their flanks were in rear of their position), and after a sharp struggle the 34th was driven back to the position which it had left just before."*

Again describing the crisis of the combat and Sigel's counterstroke, Turner says:

"As a matter of fact, however, the Federal success was only temporary. The Confederates were not demoralized; except for the heavy artillery fire from both sides, there was for a short time a lull in the battle in this part of the field. The Confederate line was being strengthened and rectified once more. (Edgar was moving the 26th Battalion up to the line of the 51st Virginia, the cadets were moving up into the gap, and the 62d on their right, having fallen back to slight cover, was being reformed).

"The men of the 62d were undaunted by the *disaster* which had just occurred. Indeed they had retired partly for the purpose of waiting until the other commands should come up with them. (The truth is, they were unable to remain in the open in advance, and were compelled to seek cover in a hollow in their rear, until their flanks were prolonged by the cadets on the left and the 22d Virginia on their right). The gap between the 62d and 51st was being filled by the cadets in the course of a brilliant movement. To the left, the 51st *had recovered its order* (due to shifting of the fire of the Federal batteries upon the cadets), and was ready to go forward again. To the right of the 62d, the 22d Regiment, under Colonel Patton, was hastening up to

*Turner, p. 53. The italics and parenthetical remarks are those of the writer and not of Turner.

complete the line. (His position was between the hollow in which the 62d lay under cover of the ground, and the turnpike, abreast of Imboden's position beyond the bend in the creek, which at this point was about 500 yards east of the turnpike. The interval on his right was occupied by Derrick's 23d Battalion, while McLaughlin's artillery occupied positions on the high ground along the pike some 400 yards in rear of the 22d and 23d, and engaged Ewing's Battery, east of the pike on the Federal left, at a range of 800 yards, and Snow's, Carlin's, and Von Kleiser's batteries, obliquely to the left, at a range of about 1,000 yards.

"This was the time chosen by Sigel for the Federal countercharge. Perhaps it had no chance to succeed, although the result might have been different had this charge been made immediately after the repulse of the Confederates, and had the Federal left been holding its own. (By repulse is meant the confusion of the 51st, on the extreme left, when it emerged into the open, after ascending and crossing the wooded hill, and the falling back of the 62d to the hollow.)

"Now, there was little hope. As the Federal soldiers moved down the slope (of Bushong's Hill against the 51st, Cadets, 62d, and 22d) they were met by a terrible fire. Curiously enough, what happened to the Confederates a little before, now befell their opponents. The 54th Pennsylvania, and probably the 1st West Virginia, halted in confusion, and turned back, leaving the 34th Massachusetts (opposite the cadets) to advance alone. The men of this command charged gallantly toward the fence of Bushong's yard (behind which the cadets alone lay), but were repulsed in disorder, *partly* (wholly?) because of the splendid fighting of the cadets. Accordingly, they retreated with heavy loss. In some respects, the repulse of Sigel's countercharge was the critical point in this part of the engagement, for the tide of battle now changed. (If the tide changed, this was certainly the very crisis of the combat, and, inasmuch as Sigel would have broken the Con-

MAJOR-GENERAL RALEIGH E. COLSTON, C. S. A.

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR
PROFESSOR 1854-1865

federate line, had the 34th Massachusetts pressed home, the troops which repelled its advance saved the day.) The 22d Virginia Regiment, which formed the left of the hinder echelon, had now come up upon the right of the 62d Virginia. Together they formed a solid line of eight hundred veteran troops. (Here it is to be observed some of the veteran troops were in the 'hinder echelon' when the crisis of the combat was passed, the cadets being in the most advanced position.) A forward movement was begun immediately, leaving the shaken Federal troops no time to recover."

"The cadets also, under Captain Henry A. Wise, and the other Professor-Captains (Colonel Shipp, the Commandant, having been disabled), sprang forward with heroic enthusiasm, their boyish cheers arousing the veterans on both sides of them. The 51st Virginia, to the left of the cadets, had recovered from its earlier confusion, and had been fighting vigorously. It also took part in the general forward movement; so that, substantially, the entire Confederate Army swept up toward the Federal position. By this time, Edgar had completed his work of turning the Federal right; the troops posted along the river had been driven back, and the artillery (Snow's and Carlin's batteries) were hastening to move off. Over on the left, the Federal attack had been repulsed, and there the Confederate right was driving the enemy back. In fact, the Federal line was breaking up now, and Breckinridge encountered no serious resistance. The 54th Pennsylvania, and the 1st West Virginia, hotly pressed and in danger of being flanked, gave way. The 34th Massachusetts was thus left in a perilous position. The 62d and the 22d were driving away its support, on the left; the 26th, the 51st, and the cadets were driving off the artillery, on the right; while it was being assailed in front by part of the Cadet Battalion, the 30th Virginia, and part of the 62d. It fought stubbornly and well, and sustained heavy losses, but could not retrieve the day. As it was,

it lacked little of being cut off. Thus, both the right and the center of the Federal Army were broken."*

The movements of the cadets in this charge have been graphically described. Turner has shown in the foregoing account that they assaulted the position of the battery, notwithstanding his doubts, later expressed, as to whether they could have done it. The sole question is really as to the number of guns they took. A witness writes:

"Manifestly, they, the cadets, must charge or fall back. And charge it was; for, at that moment, Henry Wise ('Old Chinook', beloved of every boy in the command) sprang to his feet, shouted out the command to rise up and charge, and, moving in advance of the line, led the Cadet Corps forward to the guns. The battery was being served superbly. The musketry fairly rolled, but the cadets never faltered. They reached the firm greensward of the farmyard in which the guns were planted. The Federal infantry began to break and run behind the buildings. Before the order to limber up could be obeyed by the artillerymen, the cadets disabled the teams, and were close upon the guns. The gunners dropped their sponges, and sought safety in flight. Lieutenant Hanna hammered a gunner over the head with his cadet sword. Winder Garret outran another and lunged his bayonet in him. The boys leaped upon the guns, and the battery was theirs. Evans, the color-sergeant, stood wildly waving the cadet colors from the top of a caisson.

"A straggling fire of infantry was still kept up from the gully, now on our right flank (left of 34th Massachusetts), notwithstanding the masses of blue retiring in confusion down the hill. The Battalion was ordered to reform, mark time, and half-wheel to the right; then, it advanced, firing into the cedars as it went, and did not pause again until it reached the pike, having driven the last enemy from the thicket. The broken columns of the enemy could be seen hurrying over the hills, and

*Turner, pp. 56-60.

down the pike towards Mount Jackson, hotly pressed by our infantry (22d and 23d) and cavalry."*

This account seems to be accurate. Turner has already stated that in the final charge the cadets assaulted Von Kleiser's Battery. Yet, on page 71 of his book we read:

"It has usually been asserted that the cadets took Von Kleiser's Battery, but they could scarcely have done this, since Von Kleiser's Battery was not captured. No Federal battery was captured at New Market. Sigel lost five or six cannon. Two of these were captured by the Confederates from the batteries near the river, while another they found afterwards abandoned in a pond. Von Kleiser lost two guns, one of which, there is no doubt, was taken by the cadets when the Federal line gave way, and they may have captured the other. But they did not capture a battery."**

Now, this whole tangle is easy to straighten out. Upon the near approach of the cadets, Von Kleiser, seeing that he was unsupported on his right, from which quarter Snow and Carlin had withdrawn their batteries, and that the infantry beyond the 34th Massachusetts, still supporting him on the left, but obviously unable to withstand the assault of the cadet right wing and the 62d Virginia, ordered his battery to limber up. Four of his guns got away, but the other two were taken by the cadets who swarmed in among his confused teams and cannoneers, as described. When the various writers described the capture of the battery, they referred more to the seizure of its position, than to the actual number of guns taken. The fact that the two contemporaneous accounts, the official report of the Commandant and a letter of Captain Preston, do not enumerate the number of guns actually seized by the cadets does not mean they captured no guns. Both writers specifically stated the position of the hostile battery was charged and overrun. The seizure of the guns was in their accounts in-

*End of an Era, J. S. Wise.
**Turner, p. 71.

cluded in the taking of the position occupied by the battery.

Turner's lack of perception of these points is clearly expressed in the statement which he makes, following closely upon his account of the action of the cadets in filling the gap, holding their position in advance of the Confederate line, when confusion reigned, according to his own account, on both sides of them, and repulsing the countercharge of the 34th Massachusetts, which, he says, was the turning point of the battle.

"Not less exaggerated have been the assertions about the result of the action of the cadets. There has been a tendency to maintain that they saved the day and won the battle, and that Breckinridge acknowledged that they had done so. As a matter of fact, there is no ground for such assertion, and it is grossly unjust to the veteran soldiers who bore the brunt of the fighting. The cadets made up about one-sixteenth of the Confederate Army, so that it would have been physically impossible for them to have turned the tide of battle."*

This is really pitiful. He has said that if the 34th Massachusetts had penetrated the gap, the day would have been won for Sigel, and it no doubt would have been. Would Turner, in such event, have contradicted himself, and said that the 34th Massachusetts could not have won the battle, because it was but one-sixteenth of Sigel's Army? Since when have the importance of tactical maneuvers been measured by the number of men engaged in a particular movement? A brigade of cavalry in the rear of a line of battle will decide the issue, when an army corps is at a standstill in its front. Can any one deny that the Stonewall Brigade won the battle of First Manassas? Yet its action there was relatively very similar to that of the cadets at New Market. Dr. Turner is hopelessly lost in the fog which he has done more to create than any previous historian of the battle. Fortunately, he again contradicts himself, after having declared Mr. Wise's account inac-

*Turner, p. 72.

curate, for on page 83 he confirms that account absolutely, and writes:

"After the fall of Lieutenant-Colonel Shipp, the command of the cadets had devolved upon Professor-Captain Henry A. Wise. He says that he believed that the longer the cadets lay inactive behind the scanty shelter under the enemy's fire, the less would be their courage, and the more impossible would it be for them to do anything. At the moment, it seemed, there were two possible courses: either to fall back, as had been suggested, or to rise and continue the advance. He felt instinctively that this was the decisive moment of the battle; and that if the cadets fell back and opened a gap in the center of the line it might mean the loss of the day. Moreover, he thought that to fall back under an artillery fire like that to which they had been subjected, would entail nearly as much hazard as a charge right at the enemy's guns. The chance was a terrible one, but he made his decision instantly. His comrades still recall how he sprang to his feet and shouted the charge. At once, the magnificent training of the cadets asserted itself: they rose as a man, got over the fence, and moved forward across the field, straight for the enemy's guns. (This is what Turner seems to think they could not have done, yet he describes how they did it!) There is no doubt that at this moment the 62d and the 22d had begun their charge (on the right of the cadets), but the influence of the cadets stirred to enthusiasm the adjacent commands (51st, 30th and 26th) on their left rear, and the whole Confederate line rushed forward. The Federal troops from their position saw the movement, and prepared to hold their ground.

"Unfortunately, it is not possible for the historian to feel that he can narrate exactly the details of what followed, such vivid, contradictory, and exaggerated accounts have been given. It is probable that some shells were bursting over the field as the Corps advanced; but they kept their ranks and pressed forward. The in-

cessant rains of the morning and the day preceding, had drenched the whole country. The ground over which they were toiling was a wheat field not long since ploughed, now sodden, and ankle-deep in mud. At times, the cadets found it an heroic task even to drag their feet out of the slough into which they sunk, and in many cases shoes and even socks were pulled off as they struggled along. Furthermore, the rain, which had ceased, had ceased only for a while. A black thunder-cloud which had gathered hung low, and now, when the charge began, burst over the field, in torrents. The air was dim with the driving rain and the darkness, and murky with the volumes of smoke which drifted along the ground; so that it was difficult to see twenty paces ahead, save for the lightning flashes and the fire where the riflemen were shooting. The elements themselves seemed at war."*

After reading *this vivid* account, which is undoubtedly correct, it is a simple matter to explain how the Cadet Corps was able to traverse the wheat field in the face of Von Kleiser's guns. A plunging fire is of all others the most inaccurate, especially when the target is moving towards the guns. Coupled with this element of inaccuracy, were the facts that the gunners could see the advancing line but imperfectly; that some of the guns must have been limbering up to escape; that it took not over two minutes for the Corps to traverse the wheat field; that in that time no gun could have possibly fired over five rounds; that fuses were wet and inaccurately cut; that firing that rapidly the pieces could not possibly have been accurately laid upon a rapidly-moving target, even had the gunners been at target practice, instead of laboring under the intense excitement of repelling an infantry charge—and we have before us facts constituting a full explanation of the success of the charge. Nothing more is needed. Physically, the deed was by no means impossible. On the contrary, it seems physically impossible for the battery to have repelled

*Turner, pp. 83-86.

the charge. Moral factors might have offset the physical advantages of the assailants, but that is just what did not happen; and so the position of the battery was reached and overrun. This, Turner himself tells us:

"But there was no faltering. The distance to be traversed grew less, and soon the audacity of their courage told. The Federal soldiers were too much shaken, and too hard pressed, to make a stout resistance. There was some attempt; but on the cadets came, and then at last in the midst of a wavering in the enemy's ranks, they dashed up to the Federal lines with wild enthusiasm, and shot down the horses of one of the guns. There was a brief hand-to-hand struggle, but the Federal Army was already giving way. The cadets ran here and there capturing prisoners. The color-bearer sprang upon the gun carriage and waved his flag. *The position had been stormed.*"

Von Kleiser's Battery went into action immediately on the left of Sigel's original artillery group. Just before the general charge commenced, the pressure of the 26th, 51st and Cadet Corps compelled Snow and Carlin to limber up and pull out with their batteries, Carlin abandoning three of his guns to which he could not get his teams without losing them. While the center of the Cadet Battalion was overrunning Von Kleiser's position, the extreme left swept over the ground formerly occupied by Carlin's Battery, and there found his abandoned pieces.

It is possible, of course, that either 51st or 26th had already passed Carlin's position (as claims by both for the capture of the three pieces have been advanced). But what probably happened was the men of these two commands mingled with the left wing of the Cadet Battalion, reached the guns nearly at the same time, and hence each has conscientiously asserted its claim of priority. There is nothing strange about that. It had happened many times before. But one thing is certain: the cadets secured the pieces which they found, as well

as from 80 to 100 prisoners, a precaution which, it seems, the veteran troops (contrary to their custom) failed to take. That fact certainly gives the cadets a tremendous advantage, in the eye of the military critic.

Of the charge of the cadets upon Von Kleiser's Battery, Major Theodore S. Lang, of Sigel's staff, wrote:

"I must say that I never witnessed a more gallant advance and final charge than was given by those brave boys on that field. They fought like veterans; nor did the dropping of their comrades by the ruthless bullets deter them from their mission, but on they came, ravines or fences, or shot or shell, were all the same to those brave boys, who faltered not until they waved their battle flag over the captured battery of Captain Von Kleiser."

Captain Franklin E. Town, Chief Signal Officer of Sigel's Army, wrote:

"Standing on the crest of this slope, after a short time I observed a line forming in the ravine at the foot of the hill, which seemed about like a regiment in extent, but so 'smart' and 'natty' in appearance as instantly to suggest our own pet 'Seventh Regiment' of New York City. They appeared more like militia on parade than troops in campaign. We were soon able to identify the command as the Battalion of the Virginia Military Institute, and certainly a more soldiery-appearing Corps never faced an enemy.

"After perfecting their alignment, this young regiment advanced toward our battery. It approached only a short distance when it halted and turned back toward the ravine. There was no apparent disorder, nor did it seem that they were falling back in panic, but rather as if by some change of plan, and in pursuance of orders.*

*This was when, after passing the Bushong House, the Commandant gave the command, as shown, to "mark time," and then halted the Battalion behind the fence.

"The Battalion remained but a short time in the ravine, and again advanced. They came on steadily up the slope, swept as it was by the fire of these guns. Their line was as perfectly preserved as if on dress parade, or in the evolutions of a review. As they advanced, our guns played with utmost vigor upon their line; at first with shrapnel, then, as they came nearer, with canister, and finally, with double loads of canister. As the Battalion continued to advance, our gunners loaded at the last, without stopping to sponge; and I think it would have been impossible to eject from six guns more missiles than these boys faced in their wild charge up that hill. But still they advanced steadily, without any sign of faltering. I saw, here and there, a soldier drop from their line and lie where he fell, as his comrades closed up the gaps and passed on. Their pace was increased from a quick step to a double time, and, at the last, to a charge, as through the fire they came on, and up to the guns which they surrounded and captured; our artillerymen giving away when the bayonets, having passed the guns, were at their breasts."*

This account was written thirty-four years after the event. The fact that the cadets did not seize all the guns of the battery does not vitiate the evidence in the mind of a soldier. With the smoke and confusion about him, watching the charge intently, it was impossible for Captain Town to observe everything that happened. Four of Von Kleiser's guns may have pulled out at the last moment, when an observer was most apt to be seeking cover.

"This charge of the cadets upon the Federal position at New Market is one of the most remarkable episodes of the Civil War, or, indeed, of any war. That a body of youths, ranging in age from fourteen to twenty, should conduct themselves well in battle would in itself have been sufficiently creditable. But that in the first

*"An Eye Witness From The Other Side," Richmond *Times-Dispatch*, April 24, 1898.

battle in which they had ever served, they should do what they did is almost beyond belief. That, called from the quiet seclusion of a military school, they should have endured long, fatiguing marches for three days (five days?) over muddy roads and miry fields; that, wearied with their journey and yet roused from their sleep on the night before the battle and sent onward, they should have chafed at being held in a sheltered position, and insisted on pressing forward into the front and central part of the battle; that they should have borne their part steadily; that they should have stood their ground under a withering fire when veteran regiments were hard pressed;* and that, finally, in the crisis of the struggle, they should have met the shock of the enemy, unmoved; all of these facts are as astounding as they are true. The battle of New Market was a small battle, and, relatively speaking, the Cadet Battalion was a mere handful; but what these boys did is comparable with what older troops have done in some of the most famous battles in the world. It may be that the words of incautious admirers have served to cast doubt upon their exploits. They did not rally the Confederate Army, or stem a rout, or capture unaided a powerful battery under impossible circumstances. But, at a critical moment, they did conduct themselves in a manner beyond all praise, and what they did had much to do with determining the issue of the battle."**

The foregoing summary displays as amazing a lack of familiarity with his subject on the part of the writer, as one purporting to contribute a critical narrative to history has ever been guilty of.

In the first place, the average age of the cadets engaged in the battle of New Market was as great as that of the younger Confederate conscripts of 1864. The matriculation books would have shown Dr. Turner that the average age of the cadets in the battle of New Market was very close to seventeen and a half years.

*Turner has previously declared the veterans were in disorder, but he must fit his facts to his conclusions.
**Turner, pp. 86-88.

There were some over twenty-one, numbers over twenty, and more over nineteen than under sixteen.

The quiet seclusion from which the Corps was called has been fully set forth in previous chapters. It will be recalled that the Corps had not only engaged in the severe McDowell campaign in 1862, and hunted deserters in the mountains the following summer, but had taken part in three separate expeditions to repel Averell's raiding columns in August, November and December, 1863, respectively. In December, the Corps had spent an entire week in the field in bitterly cold weather and rain storms which made the spring showers of May 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th, 1864, seem mild indeed. In its previous field service marches were made which far exceeded those of the New Market campaign, both with respect to the hardships encountered and miles covered. There was no more comparison between the spring marches from Lexington to New Market with those of the November and December expeditions, from the standpoint of exposure and fatigue, than there ordinarily is between a fifteen-mile march over a turnpike, on a mild May day, and an equally long one over unimproved mountain dirt roads, in the rain and sleet of November and December, poorly shod, lightly clothed, and bivouacking in the open, with the thermometer at the freezing point.*

From the writer's knowledge of the present-day cadet, as compared with the character of men similar to those who comprised the rank and file of Breckinridge's Army, he feels secure in the assertion that the well-disciplined and physically fit cadets under Colonel Shipp were able to stand for a short period the experiences of the New Market campaign better than the regular soldiers, and that fewer of them suffered from fatigue. Youths of their age and training are not given to weariness in a space of four days. Then, there was the novelty of the experience to buoy them up and carry

*I venture the assertion that Turner never heard of these expeditions. In the McDowell campaign of 1862 the cadets marched 44 miles one day.

them on, entirely lacking in the case of the regular soldier.

From the standpoint of *morale,* there was, perhaps, not a command engaged in either army in any battle of the Civil War that compared, man for man, with the Corps of Cadets. The overwhelming majority of the cadets were born gentlemen, possessing all the instincts of courage and daring of their race, cherishing the noblest military traditions of the South, and burning with all the ardor of youth, after no fewer than four previous disappointments, to engage the enemy in battle. The Cadet Battalion was a corps of incipient officers, most of whom might have commanded regular troops, had they chosen, or had they been allowed, to join the army. If there were a battalion on earth that would have stood the Federal fire and charged Von Kleiser's guns on May 15th, it was that one which inspires the wonderment of Dr Turner, for in the Corps of Cadets there was not a youth but whose career would have been blighted forever, had he abandoned his colors, and the officers who led them were veterans of many other fields.*

Their deeds were heroic, but when we come to study them with all the facts, physical and moral, which must be taken together to explain military exploits, the latter no less important than the former, there was absolutely nothing marvelous or verging upon the impossible, in them. Had this body of highly trained and socially *élite* youth failed to do what they did, when hundreds of country boys no older than themselves, and with none of the many social and educational advantages of the cadets, were fighting by their sides and on a hundred other fields, there would have been something indeed to marvel at.

*The Commandant had served in the distressing West Virginia campaign of 1861, and had led Jackson's skirmish line in the Romney campaign, and then engaged in the most dangerous of all fighting or the cavalry affairs after the Gettysburg campaign. Captain Wise had displayed great heroism at Roanoke Island, where he was captured and paroled. Captain Preston had lost an arm at Winchester. Captains Robinson and Hill had seen hard active service in the Army.

CHAPTER XXIII

VICTORY AND LAURELS—RICHMOND AGAIN AND BACK TO LEXINGTON

AFTER the 34th Massachusetts abandoned its position, retiring in good order, the pursuit was checked by the belated arrival of the 28th and 116th Ohio Regiments, and Du Pont's Regular Battery, which took up a position on Rude's Hill near the river crossing.

Although a section of McClannahan's Battery, under Lieutenant Carter Berkeley, dashed down the pike and shelled the fleeing masses, while McLaughlin caused the other guns to fire from successive positions, there were no reserves or organized cavalry with which to turn the withdrawal into a rout.

Before the infantry could be reformed and cartridge boxes replenished, with a view to the assault of Rude's Hill, Sigel had commenced to withdraw his rear guard across the river, burning the bridge behind him, after crossing over his last troops, and so the fighting came to an end about 6 P. M.

"As evening fell, the clouds passed away, the sun came forth; and when night closed in, no sound disturbed the Sabbath calm, save that of a solitary Napoleon gun pounding away at the smouldering ruins of the bridge."

The Corps of Cadets had taken part in the general pursuit, at the beginning of which it had been rejoined by Colonel Shipp, his face streaming with blood from a slight wound on the cheek, but sufficiently recovered from the stunning blow he had received in the orchard to resume command.

Just before the Corps of Cadets left its position at the base of Rude's Hill, where it had been reformed for the assault, an officer rode up, some say accompanied

by his stag, and was saluted by the Battalion, whereupon the officer, who was thought to be General Breckinridge, is said to have politely raised his hat and given expression to the following words: "Young gentlemen, I have to thank you for the result of to-day's operations." General Shipp remembers no such incident, and General Charles J. Anderson of Richmond, a cadet in the battle, positively asserts that the officer who made the remark was Major J. Stoddard Johnston, Breckinridge's Chief-of-Staff, and that he said: "Young gentlemen, General Breckinridge has you to thank for the result of to-day's operations." Now the truth is the Battalion was extended over a considerable distance when in the position at the bottom of Rude's Hill. It is, therefore, possible that both the General and his Chief-of-Staff passed by the cadets and made acknowledgments to them and that all the cadets did not see or hear both officers in the general excitement. Again, General Anderson's explanation seems a good one, that is, Johnston was mistaken for Breckinridge. Whoever the officer referred to actually was, General Breckinridge subsequently on numerous occasions expressed his belief that the action of the cadets exercised a decisive influence on the issue of the day. He personally told the Superintendent that had he not used the cadets very freely the result would have been different.*

When the pursuit was given up the cadet section of artillery went into bivouac with the rest of McLaughlin's command at beautiful Mount Airy, while the main body of the Confederate troops bivouacked along the pike about a mile below New Market. The cadets were allowed to break ranks and seek shelter in the town wherever it could be had in order to avoid further exposure.

An inventory of losses now showed Sigel that he had lost over 800 of the 6,000 Federals engaged; while Breckinridge's loss was about 600 out of an army of 4,500.

*See also Turner, pp. 88-89, for letters of Colonna, Kirk and Ross.

In the Corps of Cadets the loss was tremendous. There were positively not over 279 cadets engaged, including the artillery detachment. There were probably fewer, but it can be absolutely demonstrated that there were not more. Of this number, 5 were killed outright, 4 mortally wounded, 48 others wounded, only one slight casualty occurring in the artillery detachment. The loss was, therefore, over twenty per cent of the command.

But, in spite of their losses, the camp-fires twinkled no more brightly that night than the spirits of the dauntless cadets, for, at last, they had been in battle and borne themselves with such credit as to have elicited the acknowledgments of the Commanding General himself.

"Shortly before sundown, after having my head sewed up and bandaged, and having rendered such service as I could to wounded comrades, I sallied forth to procure a blanket and see what was to be seen. When we stripped for action, we left our traps unguarded; nobody would consent to be detailed. As a result, the camp followers had made away with nearly all of our blankets.*

"I entered the town, and found it filled with soldiers, laughing and carousing as light heartedly as if it were a feast, or a holiday. In a side street, a great throng of Federal prisoners was corralled; they were nearly all Germans. Every type of prisoner was there, some cheerful, some defiant, some careless, some calm and dejected. One fellow in particular afforded great merriment by his quaint recital of the manner of his capture. Said he, 'Dem leetle tevils mit der vite vlag vas doo mutch fur us; dey shoost smash mine head ven I was cry zurrender all de time'. A loud peal of laughter went up from the bystanders, among whom I recognized several cadets. His allusion to the white flag was to our

*This is a mistake. Cadet Goodykoontz had been detailed by the Commandant to remain with the equipment, etc., and stayed with it until the morning of the 16th, until which time the fact that he had not been relieved was forgotten.

colors. We had a handsome Corps flag with a white and gold ground and a picture of Washington; it disconcerted our adversaries not a little. Several whom I have met since then tell me that they could not make us out at all, as our strange colors, diminutive size, and unusual precision of movement, made them think we must be some foreign mercenary regulars.*

"The jeers and banterings of the veterans had now ceased; we had fairly won our spurs. We could mingle with them fraternally, and discuss the battle on equal terms; glorious fellows, those veterans were. To them was due ninety-nine one-hundredths of the glory of the victory, yet they seemed to delight in giving all praise to 'dem leetle tevils mit der vite vlag'. The ladies of the place also overwhelmed us with tenderness, and as for ourselves, we drank in greedily the praise which made us the lions of the hour.

"Leaving the village, we sought the plateau where most of our losses had occurred. A little above the town, in the fatal wheat field, we came upon the dead bodies of three cadets; one wearing the chevrons of a first sergeant lay upon his face, stiff and stark with outstretched arms. His hands had clutched and torn up great tufts of soil and grass. His lips were retracted; his teeth tightly locked; his face as hard as flint, with staring glassy eyes. It was difficult indeed to recognize that this was all that remained of Cabell, who a few hours before had stood first in his class, second as a soldier, and the peer of any boy in the command in every trait of physical and moral manliness. A short distance removed from the spot where Cabell fell, and nearer to the position of the enemy, lay McDowell. It was a sight to rend one's heart! That little fellow was lying there asleep, more fit indeed for a cradle than a grave; he was about my own age (17), not large, and by no means robust. He was a North Carolinian; he had torn open his jacket and shirt, and, even in death, lay clutching them back, exposing a fair white breast

*The cadets were not small as a whole, but their tight-fitting jackets made them appear so then, as they do now, in comparison with other troops.

with its red wound. We had come too late. Stanard had breathed his last but a few moments before we reached the old farmhouse where the battery had stood, now used as a hospital. His body was still warm, and his last message had been words of love to his room-mates.

. . . . . .

"A few of us brought up a limber-chest, threw our dead across it, and bore their remains to a deserted store-house in the village. The next day we buried them with the honors of war, bowed down with grief at a victory so dearly bought."*

It should here again he mentioned that of the nine cadets who lost their lives in this battle, Cabell, Atwill, Crockett, Haynes, Jefferson, Jones, McDowell, Stanard and Wheelwright, but five were killed outright, Cabell, Crockett, Jones, McDowell, and Standard. Atwill died of lockjaw, the following week, in Staunton; Wheelwright, in Harrisonburg, June 2d; Jefferson, in New Market on May 18th, and Haynes, in the Powhatan Hotel Hospital, in Richmond, June 15th. Until recent years, the fatality of Haynes's wound had not been known.

In May, 1866, the remains of five cadets killed in the battle were removed to Lexington, where they were reinterred in the Cadet Cemetery. In 1913, they were placed in copper caskets and deposited beneath Ezekiel's monument, "Virginia Mourning Her Dead," dedicated June 23, 1903, as a memorial to the New Market Corps.**

*End of an Era, J. S. Wise.

**The bodies of Cadets Atwill, Jones, Jefferson, McDowell, and Wheelwright were removed to Lexington in May, 1866, and interred on the second anniversary of the battle, May 15th, in the Cadet Cemetery created for the purpose of receiving them.

At this time a traditional custom originated which has been carefully preserved and continued to the present time. On the 15th of May, the names of the nine cadets who lost their lives at the battle of New Market are called by the sergeants in the roll of their respective companies at every formation during the day, and a cadet, designated in advance for the purpose, steps two paces to the front, salutes, and answers: "Died on the field of honor!"

This inspiring custom had its origin in France.

LATOUR D'AUVERGNE entered the military service of France in 1767 and fought with distinction throughout the early years of the Revolution in the armies of the Alps and the Pyrennes. Time and again he distinguished himself in battle, and was offered promotion, but each time he refused it. As a simple captain, he led 8,000 grenadiers, known on account of their murderous bayonet

It is here proper to mention the heroism of a little woman of New Market, Eliza Catherine Clinedinst, afterwards Mrs. Crim. She was a fair young woman, who, amidst the stirring scenes of the Valley, in the oft-trodden path of the two armies, worked away faithfully in her mother's home at her trade as the village milliner; while her sturdy brother, a lieutenant in the "Stonewall" Brigade, fought for his country.*

Many conflicting accounts have been published of Eliza Clinedinst's heroism during the battle of New Market. The writer can not here undertake to correct the mistaken versions of her conduct. That she rendered valiant service in nursing Cadet Jefferson, who was carried to her mother's home, is certainly true, but she herself denied that she went on the field during the battle. She, like the other good women of New Market, did all she could to alleviate the suffering of the wounded. It is not disparaging to one to give credit to others for what they all did.

It might be proper to add here that Cadet Thomas Garland Jefferson was born January 1, 1847, and was

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charges as the Infernal Column. He left the army in 1795, but re-enlisted as a substitute for the only son of an old friend in 1799, and fought with Massena in Switzerland. Again he declined promotion, but Napoleon, in 1800, caused him to be officially borne on the rolls as the "First Grenadier of France." He was killed on the 22d of June of that year in Bavaria, whereupon the whole French army mourned for him three days. His heart was embalmed, placed in a silver vase carried by his company, and his saber was placed in the Church of the Invalides. Every morning until the close of the Empire, at the roll call of his regiment, his name was called and the eldest sergeant replied: "Mort sur le champ de l'honneur."

The writer regards this ceremony at the Institute on the 15th of May as by far the most impressive and inspiring one he has ever witnessed.

It is impossible to estimate the influence it exerts upon the emotions and the character of the youthful cadet. Having been first sergeant of D Company in his Second Class Year, the writer recalls the rivalry which existed among the cadets of his company for the honor of answering for D Company's fallen heroes. As captain of that same company, a year later, he recalls how he was appealed to by those on the sick list, begging that they might slip into ranks to be with the colors when the anniversary salute was fired by the Battalion over the graves in the Cadet Cemetery.

Who that has been a cadet at the Virginia Military Institute but can recall the hot tear that welled unbidden to the eye in response to the fervent prayer of the chaplain on this annual occasion? Is not the memory of Cabell, Atwill, McDowell, Stanard, Jefferson, Jones, Crockett, Wheelwright, and Haynes, indelibly burned into the souls of all old cadets? Who of us but can see, standing there beside those boyish graves, in the soft evening light of springtime, with head uncovered and dampened cheek, the veteran figure of Pendleton, Poague, Cutshaw, or Lee himself, when a resident of Lexington?

How distressed many old cadets will be when they learn that the Cadet Cemetery has been abandoned, and that those simple little graves are no longer to be seen in the shady grove where for forty-seven years they remained undisturbed. No monument can be half so imposing as were those little clumps of sod; and one of the most touching features of "New Market Day" is gone with the graves.

*John Clinedinst is to-day one of the most respected citizens of New Market, and was recently mayor of the town. Clinedinst, the artist, who painted the picture of the battle of New Market, is his kinsman.

therefore seventeen years, four months and two weeks old at the time of his death. When he was wounded two of his comrades fell out of ranks to run to his aid. In words which should be made immortal the stricken youth said to them: "You can do nothing for me; go to the front; there is the place for you!" From the field he was conveyed by his comrades to the field hospital near the Hupp House, and from thence the next day to the residence of Mrs. Clinedinst, where he expired in the arms of his comrade, Cadet Corporal Moses Ezekiel, who had borne him from the field and nursed him through the weary hours until Wednesday morning, the 18th of May.

At the commencement following the occasion of the unveiling and dedication of the "New Market Monument" at the Institute, the survivors of the Battle Corps were presented by the V. M. I. Alumni Association with handsome bronze medals of honor; and one was presented by the survivors of the Battle Corps to Mrs. Crim, which she now wears with the utmost pride.

Breckinridge won a splendid victory at New Market, and the news which Lee, locked in the death-grapple with Grant in the Wilderness, received the morning after the battle was most comforting to him, for the success which had been attained in the Valley rendered his flank safe, and saved his granary for the time being.

The 16th and 17th of May were devoted to caring for the wounded, the Corps of Cadets going into camp in some woods just below the town and north of the pike.

On the 16th, the Commandant received an order from General Breckinridge to report to General Imboden, with the request on the part of General Breckinridge that the Corps be relieved from further duty at that time, and be ordered back to the Institute.* The circumstances of General Imboden's situation were such, however, as to render its detention for a time necessary.

*S. O. No. 9. Headquarters, Valley District. Original in General Shipp's possession.

"HEADQUARTERS, VALLEY DISTRICT,
"NEW MARKET, VA., May 16, 1864.

"COLONEL—I am directed by Major-General Breckinridge to convey, in parting with the Corps of Cadets, to you and to them, his thanks for the important services you have rendered. He desires also to express his admiration for their meritorious conduct, as exhibited in their soldierly bearing on the march, and their distinguished gallantry on the field.

"With sentiments of high personal regard, I am, Colonel,

"Very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"J. STODDARD JOHNSTON,
"Major and Acting Adjutant-General.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Scott Shipp,
"Commanding Corps of Cadets."

"HEADQUARTERS, VALLEY DISTRICT,
"NEW MARKET, VA., May 16, 1864.

"(CIRCULAR).

"An approximate return of Killed and Wounded and a summary field return, showing total effective and aggregate present, will be made out and forwarded to these headquarters immediately.

"By command of Major-General Breckinridge,

"J. STODDARD JOHNSTON,
"Acting Adjutant-General.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Scott Shipp,
"Commandant."

"HEADQUARTERS, FIRST BRIGADE,
"RUDE'S HILL, May 16, 1864.

"DEAR COLONEL—I have directed Captain Catlett to call upon you for a report of the operations of your command on yesterday in the battle of New Market. I can not refrain, Colonel, in this unofficial manner, from expressing my high admiration of the conduct of your noble boys in the fierce conflict of yesterday, and my deep sympathy with you all on account of the many casualties which, I understand, you will have to record. I shall always be proud to have had you and your Corps under my command; no man ever led a more gallant band. Nobly have you illustrated the history of your State, and the great institution which you have represented.

"I am, Colonel, most truly,

"JOHN ECHOLS,
"Brigadier-General.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Scott Shipp,
"Commanding Corps of Cadets."

On the 18th, the Superintendent telegraphed Brigadier-General Imboden as follows:

"Cadets are ordered to Richmond. Move them on to Staunton to-morrow."*

That same day, the following orders were published:

"HEADQUARTERS, VALLEY DISTRICT,
"STAUNTON, VA., May 16, 1864.

"GENERAL ORDERS—No. 4.

"The Major-General Commanding takes pleasure in communicating to the troops of his command the following dispatch from General Lee in which he tenders thanks due only to them.

" 'SPOTTSYLVANIA C. H., May 16, 1864.

" 'GENERAL J. C. BRECKINRIDGE,

" 'I offer you the thanks of this Army for your victory over General Sigel.

" 'R. E. LEE.'

"To receive such a testimonial from such a source will be grateful to the hearts of every true soldier.

"By command of Major-General Breckinridge,

"J. STODDARD JOHNSTON,
*"A. A.-General."***

The morning of the 19th, the Commandant received the following communication:

"HEADQUARTERS, VALLEY DISTRICT,
"May 19, 1864.

"COL. SHIPP, COMMANDING,
"Corps Cadets.

"COL.—I enclose you a dispatch received at a late hour last night. It explains itself. You will proceed to Staunton, without delay, and report to Gen. F. H. Smith.

"With sincerest good wishes for the future success and safety of the Corps of gallant youths under your command, and of yourself, personally, I am Col., very truly,

"Yours,
"J. D. IMBODEN,
"Brig.-Gen'l."†

*Original in General Shipp's possession.
**Same.
†From the original in General Shipp's possession.

"That day, we started on our return march up the Valley, crestfallen and dejected. The joy of victory was forgotten in distress for the friends and comrades dead and maimed. We were still young in the ghastly game, but we proved apt scholars. On our march up the Valley, we were not hailed as sorrowing friends, but greeted as heroes and victors. At Harrisonburg, Staunton, Charlottesville—everywhere, an ovation awaited us, such as we did not dream of, and such as has seldom greeted any troops. The dead, and poor fellows tossing on cots of fever and delirium, were almost forgotten by the selfish comrades whose fame their blood had bought."*

The Corps marched into Harrisonburg on the 20th, where some of the more seriously wounded cadets were placed in the hospital, and arrived at Staunton on the 21st. The night before its arrival the Commandant received the following communication:

"HQRS., VA. MIL. INST.,
"STAUNTON, VA., May 20, 1864.

"LT.-COL. SCOTT SHIPP,
"Com'd of Cadets.

"COL.—Your dispatch of this date is just received. I regret to learn that the shoes are worthless. If the Scotch shoes can be had there, I will buy as many as may be required. Anticipating the need of socks, I have with me 10 dozen pairs, and have ordered 20 dozen more to meet the cadets in Richmond. I had also telegraphed the Adj.-General to have 100 pr. pants ready in Richmond to meet the wants of the most destitute. I first tried to get them here, but the order of the Q. M. General was required.

"The cadets will move on by train on Sunday morning (22d). The battery and horses will go with the cadets. I am expecting our subsistence stores to-morrow. I made requisition for the Enfield Rifles, but not to be had. I will renew the requisition in Richmond.

"The cadets will be engaged in guarding one of the main approaches to the city. I shall endeavor to get the Brook Turnpike, or Meadow Bridge, or Mechanicsville Road.

"I have ordered Col. Gilham to proceed at once to Lexington, and have the clothes of the cadets carefully collected and placed in charge of Capt. Semmes whom I have ordered to take them by packet to Richmond Sunday evening, so as to meet us there.

*End of an Era, J. S. Wise.

"The ladies have provided most sumptuous repasts for the cadets. I should desire you to arrange your entrance into town not earlier than 9 A. M. I have selected for camp ground the hill immediately above the Depot, the same ground occupied by Echols's Brigade.

"I send you the battle flag, which I had ordered three weeks ago, and which only arrived at Lexington Friday.

"I will attend to your trunk.

"I remain, Col., very resp.,

"FRANCIS H. SMITH,
*"Major-General."**

According to a report of the Superintendent, fully one-third of the Corps was practically barefooted upon reaching Staunton. On the 19th, he dispatched Captain T. M. Semmes to Lexington to pack up the effects of the officers and cadets and to convey them with a supply of Quartermaster and Subsistence stores to Richmond.**

Upon the arrival of the Corps, the following order was published:

"HEADQUARTERS, VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE,
"STAUNTON, May 21, 1864.

"GENERAL ORDERS—No. 19.

"I. The Superintendent communicates the following dispatch received from the Adjutant-General:

" 'RICHMOND, VA., May 16, 1864.

" 'MAJOR-GEN'AL F. H. SMITH.

" 'March the cadets to Richmond and report to Secretary of War.
" '(Copy of his letter of to-day to the Governor.)

" 'The signal victory just achieved by General Breckinridge in the Valley culminated in the retreat of the enemy's forces that lately threatened along the line of the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad, and relieved forces acting as reserves in that quarter, while, on the other hand, all reserve forces at command would be entirely serviceable in strengthening our defense and enabling us to send veteran troops to the battlefield. Under these circumstances I have thought the gallant Corps of Cadets at the Institute might be most advantageously summoned here. Where else could they more appropriately signalize their valor and patriotism than in the defense of the Capital of their native State? I, therefore,

*From original.
**S. O. No. 121, V. M. I., Staunton, Va., May 19, 1864.

venture on the suggestion and make the request, that they may be called here to aid in defense of the Capital, and within the entrenchments, or in guarding some of our most important lines of communication, as circumstances may require.

"'J. A. SEDDON,
"'*Secretary of War.*

"'By command of W. H. Richardson,
"'Adjutant-General.'

"II. As soon as the command can reach Staunton, and transportation can be furnished, the Infantry Battalion and Section of Artillery of the Corps of Cadets will be moved to Richmond.

"III. Two days' cooked rations will be taken.

"IV. Subsistence stores have been brought from the Institute to accompany the command.

"V. The wagons, ambulance and unnecessary servants will be relieved, and ordered back to Lexington.

"VI. Surgeon Madison will remain with the wounded and sick cadets and see that they are properly cared for. Supplies are left in Staunton to meet their wants.

"VII. The Superintendent has no words to express his sense of the gallant conduct of the Corps of Cadets in the decisive but sanguine battle of New Market on the 15th inst.

"The patriotic heart of the Commonwealth and Confederacy respond with proud and grateful emotion at the fortitude, courage and gallant bearing of these brave sons of the South.

"We have to mourn the loss of the dead—but the names of Cabell, Stanard, Jones, Crockett, McDowell and Jefferson [Atwill, Wheelwright and Haynes had not yet died], will be honored among the most valued heroes of this eventful struggle, and the scarred bodies of the wounded will be trophies of valor and patriotism of which the Virginia Military Institute will ever be proud. The Superintendent would return his thanks to Lt.-Col. Shipp, and all the Officers and Cadets, for their conduct in this trying service.

"By command, Major-General F. H. Smith,

"J. H. MORRISON,
"A. A., V. M. Inst."

Sunday the 22d, after a triumphant entry into Staunton, and the most tremendous ovation the Corps had ever received, the Battalion and Section of Artillery with the impressed Rockbridge horses, entrained for Richmond, under the orders of the Secretary of War. In the meantime, Breckinridge's command had been transferred to the North Anna, where Lee found it

upon arriving there on the 22d. The battle of Yellow Tavern had been fought between Sheridan and Stuart on the 10th, and, while the former did not succeed in reaching Richmond, it was only by the merest chance that the Confederate cavalry, with the loss of the heroic Stuart, drove him back after he had carried the outer works. At this time, there were few troops to guard the extended lines about Richmond, and the constant threats of Sheridan's cavalry upon the works north of the city made it imperative to order the cadets to Richmond to assist at this critical juncture in manning the works. They were not merely ordered there to be decorated with laurels as seems to be believed by some.

"We were ordered to Richmond. All our sadness disappeared. What mattered it to us that we were packed into freight cars; it was great sport riding on the tops of the cars. We were side-tracked at Ashland, and there, lying on the ground by the side of us, was Stonewall Jackson's division. We had heard of them and looked upon them as the greatest soldiers that ever went into battle. What flattered us most was that they had heard of us. While waiting at Ashland a very distinguished-looking surgeon entered the car, inquiring for some cadet. He was just returning from the battlefield of Spottsylvania. I heard with absorbed interest his account of the terrible carnage there, and when he said he had seen a small tree within the 'bloody angle' cut down by the bullets, I turned to Louis and said, 'I think that old fellow is drawing a long bow.' The person speaking was Dr. Charles Macgill. I afterwards learned that what he said was literally true. At the moment, when we were lying there at Ashland, the armies of Grant and Lee, moving by the flank, were passing, the one about us, the other within a few miles of us, from the battlefields of Spottsylvania Court House and Milford Station to their ghastly field at Second Cold Harbor. We could distinctly hear the firing in our front. We reached Richmond that afternoon, and were quartered in one of the buildings of the

Fair Grounds, known as 'Camp Lee.' It is impossible to describe the enthusiasm with which we were received.

"A week after the battle of New Market, the Cadet Corps, garlanded, cheered by ten thousand throats, intoxicated with praise unstinted, wheeled proudly around the Washington Monument at Richmond, to pass in review before the President of the Confederate States, to hear a speech of commendation from his lips, and to receive a stand of colors from the Governor of Virginia.

"No wonder that our band, as we marched back to our quarters, played lustily:

" 'There's not a trade that's going
Worth showing or knowing
Like that from glory growing,
For the bowld soldier boy.
For to right or left you go,
Sure you know, friend or foe,
He is bound to be a beau,
Your bowld soldier boy.' "

Crowds of people assembled all along the route to cheer the cadets, of whose prowess marvelous tales had spread over the State. On reaching Richmond late on the 23d, the Corps was met at the Virginia Central Depot by a great concourse of citizens. Orders were there received directing the Commandant to march his command to Camp Lee. The day of its arrival, the Second Congress of the Confederate States of America passed a unanimous resolution of thanks to the Corps of Cadets for its heroic services at New Market.

The next morning the following order was published:

"HEADQUARTERS, VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE,
"RICHMOND, May 24, 1864.

"SPECIAL ORDERS—No. 122.

"The Corps of Cadets will be reviewed this afternoon on the Capitol Square by His Excellency, the President of the Confederate States, in the presence of the Governor of the State, and the Secretary of War.

"The Battalion of Infantry and Section of Artillery will be formed, accordingly, and marched to the Capitol, subject to the orders of the Governor."

Upon reaching the Capitol, the President delivered a stirring address to the Corps, referring to its conduct at New Market as one of the most heroic deeds in the annals of war. Using the incident as one of special appeal to the people of the South at large, in the dark hour which had come upon them, when every encouraging example was of value in bestirring them to make even greater sacrifices than they had already made, he concluded by thanking the cadets in the name of the Confederate States of America.

Governor Smith then presented the Corps with a handsome stand of colors, and, after expressing the hope that they would be borne as worthily as had the old ones, he thanked the Corps in the name of the Commonwealth of Virginia.

The next day, the Commandant received the following letter:

"HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
"CONFEDERATE STATES CONGRESS,
"May 25, 1864.

"COLONEL SCOTT SHIPP,
"Commandant of Cadets.

"SIR—The House of Representatives has passed a Resolution in relation to the participation of the Corps of Cadets in the victory over Sigel, gained by our forces near New Market, on the fifteenth instant, and I have been requested to communicate this Resolution to you.

"Had I known that you would have been in the city yesterday I would have availed myself of the opportunity to perform that duty. Please let me know when the Corps will be again in the City.

"Very truly and respectfully,

"THOMAS S. BOCOCK,
"Speaker, House of Representatives."

Accordingly, arrangements were at once made for the reappearance of the Corps at the Capitol on the 28th, when Mr. Speaker Bocock of the Confederate House of Representatives, publicly communicated to the Corps the Resolution of Congress in the presence of the Senate and the House assembled.

S. O. No. 121, A. and I. G. O., Richmond, Va., May 25, 1864, directed the Commandant to report to Major-General Ransom, Commanding the Department of Richmond, for assignment to duty with Brigadier-General G. W. C. Lee, commanding the Local Defense Troops of Richmond. On the 26th, General Ransom requested General Lee (no doubt upon the solicitation of the Superintendent) to have the Corps ordered into Camp on the Brooke Turnpike, until further orders.*

It was not, however, until the 28th, in order that the ceremony narrated might be held, that the Corps left Camp Lee, moving into its new Camp on Carter's farm on the intermediate line midway between the Brooke and Meadow Bridge Roads.**

On the 26th, it had been announced by *S. O. No. 123, V. M. I.*, that all Assistant Professors assigned to duty as Tactical Officers would thereafter hold the rank of Captain. The annual examinations were postponed indefinitely, all charges against the cadets for the period of their absence from the Institute in the field were remitted, and July 4th was fixed as the date for the graduation of the First Class.

The Corps was now acting under the immediate orders of the Confederate States of America, and the position of the Commandant as a tactical commander was an anomalous one. On the 31st, however, the Superintendent secured from the Secretary of War the promise of an order turning the Corps over to the State authorities, an on the 4th, *S. O. No. 130, A. and I. G. O.*, directed that the 23 horses which had been impressed in Lexington for gun and caisson teams be returned to their owners forthwith.† To carry this

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* "Hd. Qrs. Dept. Richmond,
"May 26, 1864.
"General—the Major-General Comd'g desires you to have the Corps of Cadets camped on the Brooke Turnpike until further orders.
"Yours very resp'y,
"T. O. Chestney,
"A. A. G."*

**Rebellion Records, Series I, Vol. XXXVII, Part 1, p. 752.

†Report of Lieutenant-Colonel Scott Shipp, July 4, 1864, including report of battle. Rebellion Records, Series I, Vol. XXXVII, Part 1, p. 91.

*From original in possession of General Shipp.

order into execution, the Superintendent directed that Captain T. M. Semmes should proceed at once to Lexington with the Section of Artillery, the horses, and all surplus baggage, *via* the Danville and Southside Railroads as far as Lynchburg.

While the Corps was in camp on Carter's farm, the President took occasion to appoint three cadets from Mississippi, Watson, McConnico, and Greer, under the authority conferred upon him by Congress.

On June 2d, the Corps, upon the request of his father, and under the authority of the Department Commander, furnished a funeral escort for the remains of Lieutenant Peyton Johnston, Jr., of the Richmond Fayette Artillery, a graduate of the Institute, who was killed at Cold Harbor. But while posted in the works, and performing regular field service as a part of the line of defense, no active duty was required of the cadets, for Lee had successfully interposed between Grant and Richmond, and Sheridan had been driven off to the flanks of the Federal Army. Nevertheless, the service they performed at this time was most important, and comprised their seventh tour of duty in the field.

"HQRS., VA. MIL. INST.,
"RICHMOND, June 6, 1864.

"LT.-COL. S. SHIPP,
"Comd't of Cadets.

"COLONEL—General Bragg informed me last night that our forces had been badly whipped below Staunton (Piedmont), General W. E. Jones being killed. The command now devolves upon General A. J. Vaughan (V. M. I., '51) who commands a Tennessee brigade of infantry. He has fallen back upon Staunton, and, it was apprehended, would not be able to hold it.

"General Bragg informed me that troops would be immediately forwarded to drive them. It is possible the order may embrace the Corps of Cadets, but do not know this, and I feel it to be my duty to give you this information that you may be in readiness for a move.

"Governor Smith is of opinion that the cadets should be immediately sent back, that the public property at Lexington may be protected. The order will be of no avail unless suitable reinforcements are sent.

"I send by Cadet Clarkson 6 gross of Cadet buttons, which the Q'r. M'r. can issue to those needing them, etc.

"I remain, Col., very resp't,

"F. H. SMITH,
"Supt."

"CONFIDENTIAL"

"HEADQUARTERS, VA. MIL. INSTITUTE,
"RICHMOND, June 6, 1864.

"LT.-COL. S. SHIPP,
"Com'd of Cadets.

"COLONEL—I enclose you an order from General Bragg, which is made after arrangements had been made for reinforcements to be sent to the Valley.

"These reinforcements will consist of Breckinridge's division, which will move to South Anna Bridge, then march to Beaver Dam and there take cars.

"If command can be moved in by 5 to take the train to Lynchburg this evening, it will be important to do so, and I will endeavor to send transportation for you.

"I remain, Colonel, very resp't,

"F. H. SMITH,
"Supt.

"You will have to notify the Q'r. M'r. here immediately, that he may make arrangements for the cars.

"F. H. S."*

"ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
"RICHMOND, June 6, 1864.

"MAJOR-GENERAL F. H. SMITH,
"Superintendent, Virginia Military Institute.

"GENERAL—The Corps of Cadets having been by order of the President turned over to the State Authority and the movements of the enemy appearing to involve the safety of the Institute, and other public property, at Lexington, the Governor directs that you cause the Corps to be returned to the Institute by railroad, *via* Lynchburg, or other route if found more practicable.

"The Governor approves the order of Ex-Governor Letcher of 4th September, 1863, and adopts it, so far as at present applicable.

"Should the public property at the Institute be found unmolested, and practicable to be reached and defended, you will adopt proper measures for that purpose.

*Originals of foregoing letters in possession of General Shipp.

"In the event of difficulty, or peril, in making that defense except by co-operation with the troops of the Confederate Government, it will be needful to afford the co-operation, at least to such an extent as the security of the Military Institute may require, of which you must of necessity be the judge. Bearing in mind, however, always, that the Corps be not further exposed in battle than absolute necessity may require.

"By command,

"WM. H. RICHARDSON,
"Adj't.-Gen'l."

The Commandant lost no time in making his preparations for the move, and leaving Richmond the morning of the 7th, arrived in Lynchburg at 11 P. M. on the 8th. Proceeding immediately from that point by canal boat to Lexington, the Corps reached the Institute at 3 P. M. on the 9th, after an absence of one month, lacking two days. During the 28 days of its absence, the Corps had marched from Lexington to New Market, 85 miles, in 5 days; fought a battle in which it lost nearly a quarter of its members; marched from New Market to Staunton (47 miles) in 3 days, almost without shoes; moved to Richmond by rail; received the public thanks of the Confederate Congress, the President, and the Governor of Virginia, and a stand of colors; spent two weeks in the works of the intermediate line of defense; and returned to Lexington to save the Institute, if possible; and actually coming under the enemy's fire within 48 hours after its arrival.

CHAPTER XXIV

HUNTER'S RAID—DESTRUCTION OF THE INSTITUTE—IN THE TRENCHES AT LYNCHBURG—FURLOUGHED

WHEN the Corps returned to the Institute, it found Barracks tenanted by seven new cadets who had just matriculated when the Battalion was ordered to take the field in May; being entirely ignorant of military duty they had been drafted to remain behind, much to their chagrin and sorrow.* A number of the wounded, including Captain Hill, had also been received at the hospital. Colonel Preston who had returned on the 23d of May had (with Colonel Massie) remained in charge.

The past fortnight had been a period of constant alarm for the residents of Lexington.

May 21st, Major-General David Hunter superseded Sigel in command of the Department of West Virginia. Arriving at Martinsburg on that date, he joined the troops turned over to him by Sigel at Cedar Creek on the 26th, and soon completed his preparations to march up the Valley.

Meantime, Crook's column, which had defeated the Confederates at Cloyd's Mountain on the 9th, burned the important railroad bridge spanning New River on the 10th, and then returning to Meadow Bluff for supplies, had been joined by Averell with the cavalry force which had been previously detached to operate towards Wytheville. On the 30th, Crook moved towards Staunton.

June 5th, Hunter met the force under W. E. Jones at Piedmont, defeating it, killing Jones, and capturing 1,500 prisoners. The next day, his army entered

*Included among these was the present distinguished U. S. Senator from Virginia, T. S. Martin.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL SCOTT SHIPP

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR 1859-1862
COMMANDANT OF CADETS 1862-1890
SUPERINTENDENT 1890-1907
SUPERINTENDENT EMERITUS 1907-

Staunton, where he was joined by Crook on the 7th and 8th. After destroying the railroads in the vicinity, the collected supplies for the Confederate Army, and all the manufacturing establishments in the city, the united forces advanced on Lexington, June 10th, the day after the Corps arrived there.

Hunter's Army now consisted of the forces which Sigel, Crook, and Averell had formerly commanded. It included two large infantry divisions of three brigades each, with a total of 22 regiments; two divisions of cavalry, with a total of fifteen regiments; and 7 batteries of artillery. The whole command must have numbered about 20,000 men. Among the officers were Colonel Rutherford B. Hayes, commanding the 1st Brigade, 2d Infantry division; Major William McKinley; and Captain Henry A. du Pont of the 5th U. S. Artillery, commanding the four batteries attached to the cavalry. The first two subsequently became Presidents of the United States, and Captain du Pont is the present distinguished United States Senator from Delaware.

From Staunton, Hunter marched his army up the Valley in four columns, by parallel roads. The infantry division under General Crook, and the cavalry division under General Averell, moving by the most western route, were opposed by McCausland with about 1,400 mounted men and a battery.

McCausland was easily driven back from the successive positions be sought to hold, and it was soon apparent that Lexington was doomed, a fact all the more bitter because in Hunter's Army were the very troops which the cadets had helped defeat less than a month before, at New Market.

On the night of the 10th, McCausland was joined by Lieutenant-Colonel Shipp, who bivouacked with him at the junction of the Goshen and Staunton roads. Early that morning, the Confederate cavalry pickets came scurrying in with the news that a large column of the enemy was proceeding towards Lexington from

Brownsburg, and other reports soon arrived that every road leading up the Valley was in possession of Hunter's columns. McCausland's small force could not even compel them to deploy.

When the report reached Lexington on the 6th, that the enemy was at Millboro, and on the 7th, that Averell was at Jordan's Furnace, but thirty miles distant, with not a Confederate soldier between the enemy and Lexington, Colonel Preston, in charge at that time, had set about the task of packing up everything movable at the Institute. The next day, he issued orders for one of the wounded cadets who was not expected to live to be moved to his quarters, upon the approach of the enemy, and to be concealed to save him from capture.

Besides the four 6-pounder guns and the 12-pounder howitzer of the Cadet Battery, there were at the Institute four brass 6-pounders, the two 3-inch rifles returned from Richmond, and a large amount of artillery ammunition. This material, as well as all quartermaster and commissary stores, the Superintendent caused to be loaded and six canal boats with a view to sending them on to Lynchburg.* He also took precautions to secure the more vital records but it was impossible, in the limited time available, to remove the scientific apparatus and equipment, and the large and valuable collection of books in the library of the Institute.

The Superintendent, perceiving the futility of opposition to such a force as that with which Hunter was advancing, protested from the first against any attempt at defending Lexington, which would, in his opinion, only expose the town and the Institute to retaliatory measures, on the part of the enemy.

On the 10th, he wired Breckinridge, through General Bragg, as follows:

"HEADQUARTERS, VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE,
"June 10, 1864, 6 P. M.

"GENERAL BRECKINRIDGE—I have just left McCausland's camp two miles from Lexington. He has been fighting Averell's cavalry,

*Rebellion Records, Series I, Vol. XXXVII, Part 1, pp. 730-97.

estimated at 5,000 strong, all day, from one and a half miles this side Staunton to Brownsburg, and his scouts report that Crook entered Fairfield this afternoon, with upward of six regiments of infantry and 200 cavalry. If pursued by either column, McCausland will not be able to hold Lexington. The plans of the enemy are developed; they camp to-night at Cedar Grove, nine miles from Lexington, and at Fairfield, twelve miles from Lexington.

"F. H. SMITH,
*"Superintendent."**

All during the night of the 10th, however, the Corps was held under arms, and, upon the return of the Commandant from McCausland's headquarters, the cadet howitzer was ordered down to the bridge in East Lexington, and a company of cadets under Captain Wise posted on the hillside in rear, as a support, with instructions to burn the bridge, while the howitzer blew out the piers, upon the approach of the enemy.

"Resistance to a force like Hunter's being out of the question, we were ordered to prepare for the evacuation of Lexington. A detail of sappers was sent forthwith to the bridge across the North River, with directions to load it with bales of hay saturated with turpentine, leaving space just sufficient for the passage of McCausland's retreating forces. Before sunrise, the main body of our troops came streaming down the hills across the river; and, half a mile behind them, their rear guard emerged from the woods along the hilltops, skirmishing with, and hotly pressed by, the enemy. At the river, after crossing the bridge, McCausland deployed a force upon the bluffs above and below the bridge, to cover the crossing of the rear guard."**

But long ere this, the young professor commanding the Confederate troops knew that it was beyond his power to save the Institute to which he was attached with the devotion peculiar to its graduates.

"The rear guard, called in, rallied at a run to the bridge; and the Union skirmishers, emboldened by their

*Rebellion Records, Series I, Vol. XXXVII, Part 1, pp. 756-57.
**End of an Era, J. S. Wise.

quick movements, dashed after them down the hills. Coming too near to the force behind the bluffs, they were compelled to retreat under a heavy fire upon Hunter's advance-guard, which was now coming up. A battery of Union artillery, under Captain Henry A. du Pont, galloped out upon the hills overlooking Lexington from the north side of the river, and opened fire upon the Institute. A section of McCausland's artillery came up, after crossing the bridge, took position at the northeast corner of the parade ground, to respond to du Pont. As soon as our troops were across the bridge, it was fired, and a column of black smoke rolled heavenward. Our sappers, their task performed, hurried back at double time to rejoin their respective companies. Along the pike in the valley, in front of the Institute, the cavalry, weary and depressed, was retiring to the town.

"The whole panorama, front and rear, was visible from the Institute grounds, and made a very pretty war scene.

"When the Union battery opened, the Corps was drawn up in front of the Barracks awaiting orders. It was of course invisible to the enemy from his position directly in rear of Barracks. If his guns had been aimed at the center of the building, his shells would have exploded in our midst. But the massive parts were at the corners, where the towers were grouped, and thither the fire was directed. The first shell that struck crashed in the hall of the Society of Cadets, sending down showers of brickbats and plaster when it exploded. Thereupon, we were ordered to pass over the parapet in front of the Barracks, and thence were marked westward until clear of the building, so as to avoid the splinters and débris. It was very well; for while several of his guns turned their attention to our section of artillery on the parade ground, Captain Harry filled the air with fragments as he pounded away at our quarters."*

*To-day (1914) may be seen two solid shot imbedded in the central tower of the East wing of Barracks.

"In our new position under the parapet, about opposite the Guard Tree, although fully protected, we were nearly in the line of fire of the shots directed at our battery. A number of shells struck the parade ground, some exploding there, and others ricochetting over our heads."

One can imagine the infinite satisfaction the Federal witnesses derived from this bombardment of the "Hornet's Nest" in Lexington. Hunter, Crook, Hayes, and McKinley were too well informed not to understand the infinite value to the Confederacy of Virginia's School of Arms, and du Pont, at New Market, and Averell, on three former occasions, had had personal experience with the Young Guard of Virginia.

"With heavy hearts, we passed through the town, bidding adieu to such of the residents as we had known in happier days."

It had been expected that horses would be impressed for the Cadet Battery, but finding this impossible, at the last moment, the five venerable pieces had to be abandoned to the enemy, for lack of teams to draw them off. They were left in the gun shed, with their caissons and equipment.

"No words would describe our feelings as we rested on the roadside. . . . The place was endeared by a thousand memories, but above all other thoughts, it galled and mortified us that we had been compelled to abandon it without firing a shot."

Thinking that the Federal cavalry would attempt to cut off the retreating column from Lynchburg, the Commandant led the Corps out of Lexington by the boat yard road, across North River, some distance east of the town. The first halt was made about four miles out at a cherry tree which a kind old farmer turned over to the cadets and from which many of them ate their fill. That old cherry tree still stands beside the road, but it has never afforded more real enjoyment than it did to those hungry pedestrians on June 11, 1864.

The Corps reached Balcony Falls where the North River enters the James, that evening, and soon it was reported that the enemy was pursuing. The gorge through which the James River rushes at Balcony Falls extends eastward for some miles and offers many defensible positions. The Commandant, accordingly, fell back down the pass about two miles, and placed the Corps in the position in which he could offer the greatest resistance. Pickets were thrown forward, and all that night cadets rested on their arms, and until noon the following day, Sunday, the 12th. "Then, we ascertained that General Hunter had passed up the Valley to the approaches to Lynchburg, by way of the Peaks of Otter." The Corps proceeded on its route to the Rope Ferry, four miles below Balcony Falls.

On the 12th, Averell had dispatched a column of 200 mounted men from Lexington across the Blue Ridge, to reconnoiter in the direction of Lynchburg, *via* Amherst Court House. Learning the next day of their presence east of the mountains, Breckinridge, who was moving with his division by forced marches from Rockfish Gap to Lynchburg, directed Imboden at the latter point, to coöperate with him in cutting off their escape, and, with that end in view, to hold the Corps of Cadets at Rope Ferry.* Accordingly, Imboden dispatched the following communication to the Superintendent who was with the cadets:

"LYNCHBURG, 12 M. (noon), June 14, 1864.

"GENERAL F. H. SMITH,
"Comd'g, etc.

"GEN.—Hold your position at the Rope Ferry. I have ordered McCausland to Waugh's Ferry. General Breckinridge is closing upon the enemy from Lovingston. I am moving to cut him off from all the gaps north of you. If his escape can be prevented, we will capture his whole force.

"Yours resp't'y,
"J. D. IMBODEN,
"Brig.-Gen'l.,
*"Com'd'g."***

*Rebellion Records, Series I, Vol. XXXVII, Part 1, p. 157.
**Original in General Shipp's possession.

The Corps remained at the Rope Ferry from Saturday evening until Wednesday the 15th, being detained there all that time not only to hold the pass, but to guard the property of refugees who collected in the pass from various parts of the Upper Valley. Apprehending danger from Hunter's advance which McCausland was powerless to stay, General Smith ordered the Commandant, on the 15th, to move the Corps by canal boats to Lynchburg. While on the way, a courier met the Superintendent with a dispatch from Breckinridge, ordering the cadets to move immediately to that city by the north side of the river, and stating that the force of raiders had circled around Lynchburg, and were moving on the south side to join Hunter. When this dispatch was received, the cadets had passed Waugh's Ferry, so that the danger of a collison with the raiders was past. They arrived in Lynchburg at 8 A. M. on the 16th, as Breckinridge's troops were arriving, while the raiders joined Averell about noon the same day at Liberty (Bedford City).

Returning to Lexington, we shall let Mrs. Preston describe the entrance of the enemy on the 11th:

"Evening: Our fears have all been realized; the enemy is upon us, and is in pursuit of McCausland, who left the town about an hour before they entered. About ten o'clock this morning, McCausland burned the bridge as the enemy approached it; he then began to fire upon them. We have been shelled in reply all day; one shell exploded in our orchard, a few yards beyond us,—our house being just in their range, as they threw them at the retreating Confederates. The cadets, my husband among them, remained on the Institute hill, till shot and shell fell so thick that it was dangerous; the cadets then retreated, and are several hours ahead. But they are infantry and this is a cavalry force. Mr. P. is just two hours ahead of them." Colonel Preston, it should be interpolated, had been placed in charge of the flotilla of barges, on which the movable property had been packed, and ordered to proceed down the canal with them to Lynchburg.

"The people from the lower part of the town fled from their dwellings, and our house was filled with women and children."*

"Just in the midst of the thickest shelling the poor wounded boy from the Institute hospital was carried here, surrounded by a guard of cadets. He has borne the removal well. I have distributed some of J.'s [Jackson's] blackberry wine, which I have always forborne to open, among the frightened and almost fainting ladies. About 4 o'clock the head of the Yankee column came in sight. I went out and watched them approach; saw six of our pickets run ahead of them some ten minutes. For two hours there was one continuous stream of cavalry, riding at a fast trot, and several abreast, passing out at the top of the town. (South end.) Then the infantry began to pour in; these remained behind, and, with cavalry who came after, flooded the town. They began to pour into our yard and kitchen, half a dozen at a time, and I hesitated not to speak in the most firm and commanding tone to them. At first, they were content to receive bacon, two slices apiece; but they soon became insolent; demanded the smokehouse key, and told me they would break the door unless I opened it. I protested against their pillage, and with a score of them surrounding me, with guns in their hands, proceeded to the smokehouse and threw it open, entreating them at the same time, by the respect they had for their wives, mothers, and sisters, to leave me a little meat. They heeded me no more than wild beasts would have done; swore at me; and left me not one piece. Some rushed down the cellar steps, seized the newly-churned butter there, and made off. I succeeded in keeping them out of the house. We had no dinner; managed to procure a little supper; we had

*This was a dwelling on the college grounds, formerly occupied by Dr. Junkin, President of Washington College, and the father of Mrs. Preston. Being a Northern sympathizer, he removed from Virginia at the outbreak of the war; but Mrs. Preston remained loyal to the sentiments of her husband. The house was also occupied by Jackson while a professor after his marriage to Mrs. Preston's sister. His first wife died about a year after her marriage, and about two years later Jackson married Miss Morrison, of Charlotte, N. C., and removed to a large brick house in Lexington, now become the Stonewall Jackson Memorial Hospital.

nailed up all the windows. I wrote a polite note to General Averell asking for a guard; none was sent. At ten, we went to bed, feeling that we had nothing between these ravagers and us, but God's protecting arm."

Now, here, it should be remarked, this is the evidence of a noble, Christian woman, a Northerner by birth and rearing, contemporaneously recorded. It must, therefore, be accepted as true, and nothing that could be written could so well illustrate the lack of discipline of Hunter's troops which his better officers were powerless to restrain. The men took their tone from Hunter, in whom there was none of the magnanimity of the victor so generally characteristic of the leaders in both armies. Small wonder that his Lexington relatives have disowned him and refer to him to-day, after all trace of sectional bitterness has died out, as the Renegade Vandal, for what occurred at the residence of Mrs. Preston happened in almost every other house in Lexington.

"Sunday Morning, June 12th: A day I will never forget. I slept undisturbed during the night, but was called downstairs early this morning by the servants who told me the throng of soldiers could not be kept out of the house. I went down and appealed to them as a lone woman who had nobody to protect her. I might as well have appealed to the bricks. I had left the smokehouse door open to let them see that every piece of meat was taken. . . . They came into the dining room, and began to carry away the china, when a young fellow from Philadelphia (he said) took the dishes from them and made them come out. I told them I was a Northern woman, but confessed I was ashamed of my Northern lineage, when I saw them come on such an errand. They demanded to be let into the cellar, and one fellow threatened me with the burning of the house, if I did not give them just what they demanded. I said, 'Yes, we are at your mercy—burn it down,—but I won't give you the key.' They then demanded arms; we got the

old shot guns and gave them; these they broke up, and left parts of them in the yard; broke into the cellar; carried off a firkin of lard hidden there; a keg of molasses, and whatever they could find. They asked me if we had no more than this. I answered, 'Yes, but it is in the mountains.' Sent to General Crook for a guard —At last, they pressed into the house, and began to search my dressing room. What they took I don't know. They seized our breakfast, and even snatched the toasted bread and egg that had been begged for the sick man's breakfast. My children were crying for something to eat; I had nothing to give them but crackers. They set fire to the Institute about 9 o'clock; the flames are now enveloping it; the towers have fallen; the Arsenal is exploding as I write. Governor Letcher's house has been burned down, and they told me that all the V. M. I. Professors' houses were to be burned, Colonel Preston's among them. At last old Dr. McClung came, and Phœbe* asked him to go to Averell's headquarters with her (Averell had his headquarters in Dr. White's yard); she went; did not see the General, but found a young man there (from Philadelphia) who came back with her and ordered the men off. By and by, an officer came, and asked for me; told me he had heard we were annoyed; said he was mortified and would send a guard, though he had no authority to do so. . . . Let me note here, and I do it with chagrin and shame, that the only really civil men have been those from Western Virginia and those two Philadelphians. Invariably, those from Virginia were polite; one offered silver for some bread. I had nothing but crackers, which I gave him, remarking that he was on the wrong side for a Virginian. He looked decidedly ashamed.

"It was 12 o'clock before we could get any breakfast. They carried off the coffee pot and everything they could lay their hands on, and while a 'guard', a boy of 17, was walking around the house, they emptied the

*Colonel Preston's eldest daughter.

corn crib. I asked Dr. P. to take the library for his medical stores, which he agreed to do; he was really polite. We asked him if he were going to burn our house; he said, 'Not if it is private property.' General Hunter has ordered the burning of all the V. M. I. Professors' houses. Mrs. Smith pled for hers to be spared, on account of her daughter who lies there desperately ill (in child birth); that alone saved it.

"Hunter has his headquarters in it. This has been an awful day, and it may be worse before night. One cavalryman told me that if they all talked as I did, they would fire the entire town.

"12 o'clock: We have just heard that General Smith, Colonel Williamson, and Colonel Gilham, with some of the cadets, have been taken prisoners!

"Three o'clock P. M.: I am in despair. Forty thousand troops are marching upon Richmond through here; eight thousand more left in Staunton, as an intelligent guard told us. Richmond must fall—how can it withstand such numbers? . . .

"Monday Morning, June 13th: . . . We were told the house was to be searched as some of our neighbors' had been. I delivered up all the sporting guns, but forgot that I had hidden Jackson's sword in a dark loft above the portico. At one o'clock last night, I crept up there as stealthily as a burglar, and brought it down, intending to deliver it up to Lt. B.; but running up the back way to Dr. White's gate, and consulting him, he said he had his old sword which had never been in service, and advised me to keep it as long as I could. I have hidden it in Anna Jackson's piano. We hear that we are to be searched in the morning; almost every house in town has been, and but for the interest this Lt. has taken in us, I believe we should have been too.

"General Smith's house has not been burned, they have not yet discovered our wounded man. . . . We hear many times this morning that the cadets have been captured."

A number of the cadets had stored their trunks in Colonel Preston's house before departing. These were now opened and the contents destroyed upon the advice of the friendly officer, for fear they might be discovered, for, by an oversight, or through the design of the officer, the provost-marshal had included the house in his list which he certified had been searched. "I became so alarmed that I thought it time he, the Lieutenant, should know the wounded man was here, so I said, 'Come in and see the wounded cadet!' He seemed surprised, but came in, and talked very civilly; the cadet lay pale and motionless, never opening his eyes. The guard asked if we did not need help in sitting up with him at night, and talked so kindly that quiet tears began to steal down the poor wounded boy's face,—for he is only seventeen. Phœbe began to weep too; the guard looked on a moment, and then said, 'Well, in the other world there will be surely somebody made to suffer for all this!' I take time to note this. It is an incident worth preserving.

"There was still Jackson's sword. With great trouble we carried it under our clothes—that sword that had flashed victoriously over many a battlefield,—and finally concealed it in an outhouse. . . .

"The experience of our neighbors has been in some instances worse, in some better, than ours; but all have suffered. Some idea of our absorption of thought may be imagined, when I record that since last Friday till yesterday, we actually forgot to have any dinner gotten; we forgot to eat; four days we went from morning till dark without food."

We shall now let General Hunter describe his occupation of Lexington.*

"Having rested, and reorganized the combined forces under my command, I started on the 10th toward Lexington, moving up the Valley in four columns by roads nearly parallel. The infantry division under General Crook, and the cavalry division under General Averell,

*See his Report, Rebellion Records, Series I, Vol. XXXVII, Part 1, pp. 96-103.

moving on the right-hand road, were opposed by Mr. McCausland, with about 2,000 mounted men and a battery.

"He was easily driven, however, and, on the 11th, took refuge in the town of Lexington, behind the North River, a tributary of the James. Generals Crook and Averell arriving about midday, on the 11th, found the bridge across the stream burnt, and the crossing disputed by sharpshooters and artillery. The infantry division under General Sullivan, which moved on the road to the left, and which I accompanied in person, had met with no enemy thus far, but, at the sound of Crook's guns, moved rapidly forward, and took position in front of the town. I found the enemy's sharpshooters posted among the rocks and thickets of the opposite cliffs, and in some storehouses at the bridge, and also occupying the buildings of the Virginia Military Institute, which stood near the river. Their artillery was screened behind the buildings of the town, and on some heights just beyond it the whole position was completely commanded by my artillery (thirty guns). This unsoldierly and inhuman attempt of General McCausland to defend an indefensible position against an overwhelming force, by screening himself behind the private dwellings of women and children, might have brought justifiable destruction upon the whole town, but as this was not rendered imperative by any military necessity, I preferred to spare private property, and an unarmed population. Instead of crushing the place with my artillery, I sent General Averell with a brigade of cavalry to cross the river some distance away, and fall upon the enemy's flank and rear. Before this movement was completed, the enemy proceeded and hastily retired on the road toward Buchanan. The Battalion of Cadets, about 250 muskets, took part in the defense and retired by the Balcony Falls road towards Lynchburg. I was told that Colonel Smith, Principal of the Institute, and commanding the cadets, protested against the attempted defense as entirely futile, pur-

poseless and unnecessarily exposing the town and its helpless inhabitants to danger and destruction. In occupying this place, a few prisoners were taken; five pieces of cannon, with numerous caissons and gun carriages, some small arms, and a quantity of ammunition fell into our hands and were destroyed; six barges laden with commissary stores, artillery ammunition, and six pieces of cannon were captured on the James River Canal near the town. A number of extensive iron works in the vicinity were burned.

"On the 12th, I also burned the Virginia Military Institute, and all the buildings connected with it. I found here a violent and inflammatory proclamation from John Letcher, lately Governor of Virginia, inciting the population of the country to rise and wage guerilla warfare on my troops, and ascertaining that after having advised his fellow-citizens to this course, the Ex-Governor himself had ignominiously taken flight. I ordered his property to be burned, under my order published May 24th, against persons practising, or abetting, such uncivilized warfare. Having had information that a train of 200 wagons, loaded with supplies and guarded by two regiments of infantry, was *en route* following our march, I delayed one day in Lexington to allow it time to overtake us. I had also begun to feel anxious in regard to Duffie from whom I had not definitely heard for two days."

Such is the official lie of the vandal Hunter. The proclamation of John Letcher, to which he referred, was a natural appeal to the patriotism of the people to aid in the defense of the Upper Valley, one which any man in his position would have made, under similar circumstances. One who knows the character of "Honest John" at once discards the mere suggestion of guerilla warfare on his part, as a palpable impossibility. Yet, his property, which incidentally included his house and home, was ruthlessly given over to the flames. The patriotism of the Ex-Governor did not change the private character of that property.

Lincoln had specifically prohibited the destruction of private property. In total disregard of that injunction, Hunter did not confine himself to the demolition of the Institute, as a military post, but caused the private possessions of the defenseless professors to be burned. Lincoln's inhibition also included Educational Institutions; but Hunter, unable to perceive the value such things would have in settling the conquered country, ordered the educational equipment of the Institute to be given to the flames, along with the buildings. This equipment embraced a priceless mineralogical collection donated to the school by General Cocke, a large and valuable library, including the irreplaceable collection of scientific works, which had been purchased from Colonel Claude Crozet, and the complete scientific apparatus and laboratories of the Engineering, Chemistry and Agricultural departments, and an exceptionally valuable telescope.

Among the brave officers whom chance had consigned to the command of so unworthy a leader was Captain Henry A. du Pont, of Delaware. In order to show what were the sentiments of the officers of Hunter's Army, it is here noted that in 1913 Senator Henry A. du Pont introduced a bill in the United States Senate providing for the reimbursement of the Virginia Military Institute, in the sum of $214,000, for the unlawful and unjustifiable destruction of its educational plant by General Hunter, June 12, 1864. It should be added that the burning of the Barracks and of the strictly military part of the institution has never been claimed to be improper or unjustifiable as a war measure.*

The information contained in the following deposition which was taken as evidence by the Senate Claims Committee is very interesting at this point, though it omits an important fact:

*To the writer's knowledge, Major McKinley in later years often expressed regret for the destruction of the Institute. Senate Bill 644, Sixty-Third Congress, Second Session, and the evidence of Senator du Pont and Major-General Leonard Wood, Chief-of-Staff, U. S. Army, given at the Hearing before the Committee on Claims, is included in full in the appendix.

STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA }
COUNTY OF ALLEGHANY } ss.

On this 10th day of March, A. D., 1914, personally appeared before me the subscriber, a Notary Public, J. M. Schoonmaker, of Pittsburg, Pa., who being duly sworn according to law, doth depose and say:

I was Colonel of the 14th Pennsylvania Cavalry, in command of the First Brigade of Averill's Cavalry Division, and led the advance of General Hunter's army when he moved south from Staunton on June 11, 1864, on what is known as Hunter's raid on Lynchburg. On arriving at the outskirts of Lexington there was some firing from skirmishers, which halted us until General Hunter came to the front, and ordered the shelling of the Virginia Military Institute, but with no response following same, and my recollection is that I was the first one to enter the Institute building, finding the cadets' school books open on their desks and diagrams partly finished on blackboard, and no trace of the building having been occupied by Confederate forces, placed it and the Washington College buildings under guard. Some time after General Hunter advanced his main army into Lexington and sent for me, taking me severely to task for not having burned the Institute, which he did the following day, and it was my understanding at the time that General Hunter also intended burning the Washington College buildings. I have no hesitation in stating that I considered at the time the burning of the Institute for military reasons unnecessary and unwarranted.

And further the deponent sayeth not.

J. M. SCHOONMAKER.

Sworn and subscribed before me the day and year first above written.

WM. F. BRUNNER,
Notary Public.

My commission expires January 19, 1915.

The omission referred to is that Colonel Schoonmaker, according to his own statement at the Institute, where he delivered an address on the occasion of the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary Celebration, June 24, 1914, was not only taken to task by Hunter for not destroying the Institute immediately upon entering Lexington, but was relieved of command pending the investigation of what his senior deemed a neglect and while other hands unwillingly applied the torch. The fact that

Hunter thus sought to discipline Schoonmaker gave currency and credence to the report that a number of officers were placed in arrest for refusing to execute Hunter's orders to burn the Institute. His action with respect to Schoonmaker, his advance guard commander, was, undoubtedly designed to make him more wanton and reckless of the property rights of the enemy and the hostile inhabitants along the route. Hunter simply desired all his subordinates to take their cue from him and act in certain matters without explicit orders, for orders, especially when written, have an unpleasant way of springing up when least expected.

Hunter did not cause the five pieces of the Cadet Battery which his men found at the Institute to be destroyed, as stated in his report. These pieces, together with the six old French guns, and the two bronze guns of the Letcher Battery, which had been mounted in front of the Barracks, and Hubard's bronze replica of Houdon's Washington Statue, were seized by him, and sent with other captured property to Wheeling, West Virginia, where they were received as trophies of war by Governor Pierpoint, the Federal appointee, with great glee. Thus, did Hunter seek to impress his political friends at home with the grandeur of his military exploits!*

In his annual report to the Board of Visitors, rendered at its meeting in Richmond, July 15, 1864, the Superintendent recounted Hunter's proceedings in detail, as follows:

"Every species of public property was removed, or wantonly destroyed; and among the most serious losses are to be named our valuable library,—the accumulated care of twenty-five years,—and the philosophical apparatus, so long used by our late distinguished professor

*In 1865, at the instance of the Superintendent, and Gen. T. T. Munford, V. M. I., '52, the Cadet Battery, superbly re-mounted and re-equipped, the Washington Statue, the two 24-pounder and the two 6-pounder French guns, and the two Letcher Battery guns, were gracefully returned to the Institute, by order of the Secretary of War, Mr. Stanton. La Lazarde and L'Aurore, the two 9-pounder French guns, could not be found for a long time, but were finally located at Fortress Monroe, and returned by General William F. Barry, the post commander, under the proper authority.

of Natural and Experimental Philosophy, Lieutenant-General Thomas J. Jackson. The apparatus and many of the valuable books had been removed to Washington College, under the presumption that this venerable institution might afford a shelter and protection to them. But the work of destruction went on. The College building was sacked; the libraries of both institutions were destroyed, and every particle of philosophical apparatus broken to pieces. Shavings had been prepared to fire the College buildings also, and the design was only prevented by the representations of the Trustees, setting forth the purely civil organization of the College, and that it was the recipient of the bounty of Washington himself.

"Our hospital was first rifled of all its most valuable medical stores, and was then burnt, although one severely wounded cadet and one sick cadet, dependent upon both for comfort and almost for life, had to be removed from the building at great risk, in the midst of the shelling and the rifle balls of the sharpshooters.

"The families of Colonels Williamson and Gilham were required by rude officials to vacate their quarters; and, although they were allowed the privilege of removing their furniture, in part, through the kind interposition of the Hon, S. McD. Moore, few facilities were afforded them to do so; and the torch was applied, while helpless females were endeavoring to save their little stores, and their quarters, and many of their personal effects were destroyed.

"Every public document connected with the operation of the Institute, found in my office (and there were many copies of the various annual reports and registers), were destroyed or removed. My private library was rifled of many of its most valuable and portable volumes, and the portraits of Ex-Governors McDowell, Wise, and Letcher, which occupied prominent positions in it, were removed.

"The houses of our poorest operatives, including seamstresses, laundresses, and laborers, were searched,

in common with those of the citizens generally, and some of those persons were left in destitute, and almost starving, condition. The kindness of friends in Lexington had opened their homes to receive the trunks and effects of cadets. Such houses were made the peculiar objects of vindictive spoliation.

"Our shoe shop was despoiled of all its leather, and unfinished work; and the shoe lasts, implements and benches were there wantonly destroyed.

"The bell attached to our public clock was taken down and removed, and the beautiful bronze copy of Houdon's Washington, by the gifted and lamented Hubard, after being mutilated in the effort to take it from its pedestal, was removed.*

"All the regular negro servants of the institution showed a marked fidelity. Our trusty baker, Anderson, the property of the Institute, was stripped of everything, and on being asked whether he had made himself known as belonging to the State, promptly replied, 'No, indeed,—if I had told the Yankees that, they would have burnt me up, with the other State property.' "

In discussing the lack of justification for Hunter's acts, the presentation of the Superintendent can hardly be improved upon. He wrote:

"It was to have been expected that the cadets should be pursued, that they might be either killed or captured. They asked no immunities from the rigors of war meted to others. The arms and munitions of war were proper subjects for capture or destruction. Its public buildings might have been held by the enemy as a barracks or hospital, and the school itself dispersed. But modern history is appealed to in vain for a like instance of desolation, as marked the track of the invader here. The cities of Europe have often been held by hostile armies, and have often been given up to sack and

*William J. Hubard, the sculptor-artist was blown up in February, 1862, while experimenting with a highly explosive compound of his own invention, in his foundry in Richmond, which he had turned over to the service of the Confederate Bureau of Ordnance.

pillage; but institutions of learning, whether military or not, have been usually protected from the devastation attendant upon the entrance of armies into fortified towns. Even in civil war, Oxford and Cambridge were alternately held by the contending armies; but their halls and their courts, their libraries and their archives, were preserved and still remain, to show how civilization may ameliorate the rigors of war. True, the School of Engineers at Méziéres, in which the celebrated Monge taught, and that of Artillery at La Fere, in common with all the Schools of France, from the University down, were destroyed by the madness of the unrestrained Republican mobs. Lavoisier was murdered, as the republic had no need of chemists. But these lawless acts were not excused, or justified, by the leaders of the French Revolution themselves. On the contrary, they were made the argument by which Monge and Fourcay established the Polytechnic School, and begged, for the purpose, the use of the old Palais Bourbon for the inauguration of their truly revolutionary School. But General Hunter commanded an organized army of the United States, whose professed mission was the 'restoration of the Union'; and, yet, it was by his order, and against the remonstrances of some of his own general officers, that the public buildings of the Virginia Military Institute were committed to the flames; and the threat was made by him that the University of Virginia should soon share a like fate. He is not only responsible for an act deliberately executed, but for the effort clearly manifested to consign to utter destruction every record that could mark the character of history or being, of the Virginia Military Institute."

After the destruction of the Institute, Hunter sent Averell on to Buchanan on the 13th, with orders to drive McCausland out of the way, and secure the bridge over the James River at that place. On the 14th, hearing that Breckinridge had reached Rockfish Gap, and that Early was moving to the Valley, he left Lexington with his whole force for Buchanan. On the 15th, he

marched over the Blue Ridge by the Peaks of Otter road toward Lynchburg.

From June 3d to 6th the desperate battle of Cold Harbor was fought. Late on the 12th, Early, then in command of the 2d, or Ewell's Corps, received orders to proceed with it to the Valley to oppose Hunter's progress. When he left his position near Gaines's Mill, about 2 A. M. the 13th, Grant had already put his army in motion to cross the James River below Richmond. With the 8,000 men of his Corps, and Nelson's and Braxton's Battalions of Artillery, Early reached Charlottesville, a distance of over 90 miles, on the 16th. Upon reaching Charlottesville, he learned by a dispatch from Breckinridge, who with his division had made a forced march from Rockfish Gap to Lynchburg, that Hunter was marching on that point. At sunrise on the 17th, about half of Early's command started by train on cars collected during the night, for Lynchburg, 60 miles distant. Rodes's, and a part of Gordon's divisions, and the artillery, started by road. When Ramseur's division and one of Gordon's brigades reached the city late the afternoon of the 17th, Hunter was rapidly approaching, opposed only by Imboden with a mere handful of cavalry. Breckinridge had been unable, by reason of injuries received at Cold Harbor, to exercise active command since his arrival, but under the direction of Generals D. H. Hill and Hays (who happened to be in the city), a line of hasty intrenchments had been thrown up on College Hill, covering the turnpike and Forest roads from Liberty. This line had been occupied by the infantry of Breckinridge's division as it arrived, and the dismounted cavalry of Jones's command, which had been defeated at Piedmont, on the 5th, while the Corps of Cadets, the Reserves, and a number of military casuals from the hospitals and shops, were placed in small works in other quarters.

Early decided that the defensive lines which had been hastily established were too close, and, that resistance

offered in them would only bring about the destruction of the city. But he had little time to construct others. Finding Imboden in a work on Diamond Hill, about five miles west of the city, strongly intrenched and opposing Averell, he decided to move his troops, which were fast arriving, out to Imboden's position near the Quaker Church. Averell, however, attacked about 4 P. M., and drove Imboden from his works.

Early now established a line across the road over which Averell was advancing, about two miles west of the city, where a redoubt had been constructed, and ordered up the two brigades of Ramseur's division, and the one of Gordon's which had reached Lynchburg. These troops arrested the progress of the Federals, who contented themselves the rest of the day with a cannonade.

Hunter's advance troops camped on the battlefield that night, having captured a gun, and 70 of Imboden's men.

The Federal commander now learned of the presence of Breckinridge's division, and inferred from the constant running of trains, and the cheering of troops, during the night, that reinforcements were arriving. The next morning he learned that Early's division had arrived, and erroneously estimated the numbers of the force opposed to him at between 10,000 and 15,000 men.

On the morning of the 18th, Early placed Breckinridge's division in the front line of works, consisting of a redoubt on each road, with connecting rifle pits, along which there was much artillery firing and skirmishing. In the afternoon, and before Rodes's division had arrived, Duffie's brigade on the extreme Federal left attacked just to the right of the Forestville road, while Averell sent a small force of cavalry to demonstrate against the Campbell Courthouse road, on the extreme right. The attack was repulsed about 2 P. M. Although Hunter says himself that he ordered this attack, he describes the affair as a "bloody repulse" for Breckin-

ridge who, he says, was discouraged from further activities that day.

As soon as the remainder of his infantry arrived, Early completed his arrangements for attacking Hunter, at daybreak on the 19th.

Up to this time, the cadets, in a drizzling rain, had remained in position in a graveyard, near the present residence of Mr. John Langhorne, in the secondary line close behind the point of Duffie's attack, a renewal of which the following morning, was confidently expected. About 10 o'clock that night, orders came for the Corps to move to the front, to relieve the troops in the salient in their front, who had been under fire since midday.

"When the Corps was formed in line, Colonel Shipp, in low tones, explained the nature of the service, and the importance of silence. We were warned not to speak, and, as the night was very black, each man was instructed to place his left hand upon the cartridge box of the man in front of him, so as to keep distance and alignment. Thus formed, we proceeded to the bastion, and entered it in gloomy silence. The troops occupying it were drawn up as we entered, and glided out after we were in, like shadows out of darkness.

"The place was horrible. The fort was new, and constructed of stiff red clay. The rain had wet the soil, and the feet of the men who had been there had kneaded the mud into dough. There was no place to lie down. All that a man could do was to sit plump down in the mud, upon the low banquette, with his gun across his lap. I could not resist peeping over the parapet, and there, but a short distance from us, in a little valley, were the smouldering camp-fires of the enemy. Wrapping my blanket about me, its ends tucked under me, so as to keep out the moisture from the red clay as much as possible, I fell asleep, hugging my rifle, never doubting that there would be work for both of us at daybreak.

"I must have slept soundly, for when I awoke it was broad daylight. The men were beginning to talk aloud,

and several were exposing themselves freely. No enemy appeared in our front. He was gone."*

The writer has been told by a number of those in the Corps at this time that the night they spent in that dark bastion, almost in speaking distance of the enemy, was by long odds the most trying ordeal they experienced during the war—certainly while cadets.

Believing that a force of 20,000 Confederates was confronting him, Hunter, ere night fell, determined to retire. Leaving a line of pickets in contact with the enemy until midnight, to screen his movements, he commenced his withdrawal as soon as it was dark, and did not halt until his main body reached a point 18 miles west of Lynchburg.

Although the withdrawal of the Federals was discovered by Early shortly after midnight, he was unable to fathom the meaning of the movement, but at daybreak took up the pursuit, and overtook Hunter's rear-guard at Liberty (Bedford City), just before night.

From Liberty, Hunter retreated across the Blue Ridge through Buford's Gap which he entered on the morning of the 20th, and then proceeded by Bonsack's Station to Salem, where he arrived next day.

Ramseur had followed closely upon the heels of Hunter's flying army and, attacking his rear-guard at Salem, secured 8 pieces of artillery abandoned by the enemy. From Salem, Hunter's route lay through Catawba Valley, New Castle, Greenbrier White Sulphur Springs, Lewisburg, Meadow Bluff, and Gauley, to Charleston. The haste with which he moved is shown by the fact that he reached New Castle on the 22d, Lewisburg on the 25th, and Gauley on the 27th, arriving at Charleston on the 30th. McCausland had hung upon, and harassed, his rear to the limit of the endurance of his men and horses; but the pursuers were simply outmarched.**

*End of an Era, J. S. Wise.

**Upon arriving at the White Sulphur Springs, Hunter gave orders to destroy the buildings, but Captain du Pont, knowing that a protest would be of no avail, resorted to the clever scheme of suggesting that the place be saved as a possible Cavalry post. This suggestion alone saved it.

Thus ended the expedition which, by combining the columns of Hunter and Sheridan at Lynchburg, was expected to destroy Lee's communications, and enable the two forces to join Grant. Hampton, by defeating Sheridan at Trevilian's, on the 11th and 12th of June, prevented the junction of the two forces at Lynchburg, and Early, though greatly outnumbered by Hunter, sent him flying back to the Kanawha, almost without a fight. Like all vandals, Hunter was better at destroying defenseless homes than assaulting breastworks.

The cadets took no part in the pursuit of Hunter, and leaving Lynchburg on the 24th, arrived in Lexington by canal boats on the 25th.

The Institute was a charred ruin, so that the Corps was temporarily quartered in the buildings of Washington College, which were kindly loaned for the purpose.

The cadets found the ruins of the Institute so depressing that after their first inspection, they carefully avoided the place. Not satisfied with the complete desolation of Virginia's School of Arms, certain men of Hunter's command from Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, and Massachusetts, wrote obscene and insulting messages over their names upon the walls of the demolished buildings, conduct inspired by their bitter recollection of the cadets at New Market, less than one month before. Nor was this spirit confined to the enlisted men of Hunter's Army, for the coarsely-defaced and mutilated record book of the Dialectic Literary Society was found with the following note, among others, written in pencil, after the entry of the proceedings of May 7, 1864:

"HEADQUARTERS, U. S. DEPT. OF W. VA.,
"LEXINGTON, June 12, 1864.

"The next meeting of the *Di* was probably interfered with by the threatening advance of the Yankees under Sigel, who marched up the Valley of Virginia against them. The cadets and other Southern forces defeated Sigel at New Market, but three weeks afterwards, in a battle at Piedmont, near Weyer's Cave, Gen.

Hunter, Sigel's successor, utterly routed their force, and took 1,000 prisoners. At this moment, the Virginia Military Institute is a mass of flames.

"JOHN R. MEIGS,
"1st Lt. Corps of Eng'rs, U. S. A., and Chief Eng.,
"Dept. of W. Va."

John Rodgers Meigs, of Washington, D. C., was a graduate of West Point, in the Class of 1863. It is stated in official records that he was killed by partisans October 3, 1864, near Harrisonburg, Virginia. It is difficult to believe that he could have merited the brevet he received for gallant and meritorious service at the battle of Fisher's Hill, in September, and we can not refrain from comparing him in our minds with the noble, chivalrous Colonel "Sandy" Pendleton, of Lexington, who forfeited his life in that same battle. Magnanimity is a virtue which we expect of soldiers, more especially of officers. We should have thought his admiration for the institution where Jackson had served, and his personal observation at New Market of the heroism of the cadets, would have touched the sympathy, rather than aroused the bitter passions, of an officer of Meigs's training.

Now as a matter of fact, Meigs was not killed by partisans. The following account of his death will throw more light on his character. It is taken from the Confederate *Veteran* of March, 1914, and is written by J. K. Taliaferro of Remington, Virginia.

"Having noticed in the December number of the *Veteran* a copy of a report from General Sheridan from Woodstock, October 7, 1864, in which he states that Lieut. John R. Meigs, his engineer officer, was murdered near Dayton, in consequence of which he had all houses within an area of five miles burned, I consider it due our cause that the readers of the *Veteran* and public should be informed as to how Lieutenant Meigs came to his death. He was shot and killed by Private George W. Martin, a true and brave soldier of Company H, 4th Virginia Cavalry (Black Horse Company, of this county), in a hand-to-hand fight after Martin was shot by Meigs through his right lung and was supposed to be mortally wounded.

"The circumstances, as stated by F. M. Campbell, a member of the same company, who was frequently sent out from brigade

headquarters to ascertain and report the location and movements of the enemy, were as follows:

"Campbell selected young Martin and a member of the 1st Virginia Regiment of Cavalry to accompany him on this occasion. It was a misty, raw morning, and they all had on their overcoats and were either inside or very near the enemy's lines. They observed three cavalrymen approaching, and as they met each selected his man to fight or capture. Martin faced Meigs, as the other two did his attendants, and demanded a surrender. All threw up their hands; and when Meigs was supposed to be taking off his arms he shot Martin from under his cape. While falling from his horse Martin returned the fire and instantly killed him. Martin was desperately wounded and suffered from the effects of the wound to the day of his death, which occurred about ten years ago.

"Shortly after the surrender General Meigs, the father of the Lieutenant, no doubt influenced by General Sheridan's statement, offered a reward of $1,000 for the delivery to him of young Martin, in consequence of which Martin went to a secluded section of Missouri and remained there until the war excitement had subsided and General Meigs had been satisfied by statements of those who knew the circumstances that his son lost his life in a fair conflict.

"I write this in justice to the memory of an intimate friend and comrade whose courage and coolness never faltered in facing a foe, but who never sought to take a life without giving an opportunity for surrender or defense."

On the 27th, the fourteen members of the First Class were graduated, and the Corps was furloughed and ordered to report for duty in Lexington, September 1st.

"HEADQUARTERS, VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE,
"June 27, 1864.

"GENERAL ORDERS—No. 20.

"I. Under the authority of the Board of Visitors, all cadets now on duty with the Institute, who have it in their power to go to their homes, or to the homes of their friends, are placed on furlough until the first of September, from this date.

"II. Those cadets who are unable to go to their homes, or to the homes of their friends, will be cared for by the Institute, and, to this end, they will immediately report to the Commandant of Cadets that they may be duly organized and placed in camp, and they will constitute under the law the guard of the public property.

"III. The Commissary and Steward will report to the Superintendent for instructions relative to the subsistence of the Guard, and of the employees of the Institute.

"By command of Major-General F. H. Smith,

"J. H. MORRISON,
"A. A., V. M. Inst."

By a subsequent order of the Board of Visitors, all members of the New Market Corps who did not return to the Institute were granted diplomas, so that the number of graduates for 1864 was 259, of which number 14 were First Classmen, 64 Second Classmen, and 181 Third and Fourth Classmen.

The Cadet Officers for 1864-65 were announced, as follows:

STAFF—Adjutant, Woodbridge; Quartermaster, Davenport; Sergeant-Major, Henry; Quartermaster-Sergeant, Crichton.

CAPTAINS—1. Ross. 2. Stuart. 3. Evans. 4. Pizzini.

FIRST LTS.—1. Shaw. 2. Echols. 3. Wise, L. 4. Nelson.

SECOND LTS.—1. Duncan. 2. Douglas. 3. Martin, W. 4. Patton.

ORDERLY SERGEANTS—1. Hayes, T. 2. Royster. 3. Glazebrook. 4. Marshall, A.

SERGEANTS—1. Wood, J. 2. Ridley, R. 3. Barney. 4. Dinwiddie. 5. Barton. 6. James, J. 7. Atwill.* 8. Lee, F. 9. Tunstall, J. 10. Jarratt. 11. Triplett. 12. Penn. 13. Davis, A. 14. Wise, J. 15. Ezekiel. 16. Thomson, P.

CORPORALS—1. Cocke, P. 2. Cocke, W. 3. Smith, W. 4. Stacker. 5. Dillard. 6. Smith, F. 7. Crawford. 8. Marks. 9. Kennedy. 10. Taylor, W. 11. Taylor, C. 12. McCorkle. 13. Redwood. 14. Washington. 15. Moorman. 16. Johnson, P.

*Died later from wound received at New Market.

CHAPTER XXV

INSTITUTE REOPENED IN RICHMOND—ON THE LINES—THE NEW ALMSHOUSE—IN THE TRENCHES AGAIN

No sooner had the cadets been furloughed on the Washington College campus than the Superintendent, with that indomitable will which characterized him, set to work to prepare for the reopening of the Institute, September 1st.

"Perish the thought," wrote he, "that the Virginia Military Institute is destroyed, or that bricks and mortar constituted the great military school of Virginia. That, thank God, still lives in the heart and affections of the South,—and in the vigor and manhood of its noble sons, and in the confidence and power of the State of Virginia which established it. It was no more in the power of General Hunter to destroy the Virginia Military Institute than it has been in the power of his government to destroy that under which we live. Both remain, as providentially preserved and designed, to vindicate the cause of truth and right."*

These are noble words and express the same sentiment contained in the letter which General Robert E. Lee addressed to the Superintendent, shortly after he learned of Hunter's act of vandalism.

"CAMP PETERSBURG, July 4, 1864.

"I have grieved over the destruction of the Military Institute. But the good that has been done to the country can not be destroyed, nor can its name or fame perish. It will rise stronger than before, and continue to diffuse its benefits to a grateful people. Under your wise administration, there will be no suspension of its usefulness. The difficulties by which it is surrounded will call forth greater energies from its officers and increased diligence from its pupils. Its prosperity I consider certain.

"With great regard, yours very truly,

"R. E. LEE.

"Gen. F. H. Smith."

*Report to Board of Visitors, July 15, 1864.

No wonder, with such an assurance of the expectations of the great Lee himself, that the Superintendent called a meeting of the Board of Visitors for July 15th, at which to consider the matter of reopening the Institute.

In his report to the Board, the Superintendent wrote:

"The necessity of making immediate provisions for carrying on the institution, and of devising ways and means for accommodating the cadets, *ad interim,* presents great difficulties, and the whole subject requires mature consideration. The question is so nearly allied to that of the permanent reorganization of the School, that the two must necessarily be considered together; and in this light I have viewed them."

And again:

"The Board of Visitors meets to-day to discharge their high function in giving vigor to the institution, and speedy restoration to whatever has been destroyed. I have been diligently engaged, in obedience to its orders, in preparing outlines of thought for their consideration; and although 25 years of almost unintermitted toil in building up and superintending this great School, have exhausted in a great degree the vigor of manhood, I am ready to devote whatever of health or of strength may be left or vouchsafed me to the work of restoration, until the Virginia Military Institute is placed in all its pristine glory.

"Should the institution be rebuilt on its present location, the public interest would be promoted by having its temporary organization at some convenient point in this neighborhood. In this event, the Rockbridge Baths, the Rockbridge Alum Springs, and the Lexington Hotel have been suggested; and any of these establishments, it is presumed, may be rented as barracks for the cadets. Each has some conveniences, particularly in tableware and furniture, which would greatly facilitate the operations of the School, while each has its drawbacks to balance against its advantages. As

an alternate proposition, it has been suggested, that log or plank huts be constructed, either on the grounds of the Institute, or at some other locality convenient to wood and water. If an established building can not be readily secured, the plan is practicable, and may be combined with tents, and give ample provision for the accommodation of the cadets. Rooms may be rented for lecture purposes, and for storeroom and hospital; and this plan may be found the most available, under present circumstances, if the institution shall be located here.

"Should it be determined to give another location to the permanent reorganization of the institution, the Lynchburg College, the Montgomery White Sulphur Springs, and the Buckingham Female Institute, have been named as suitable places for a temporary occupancy, while the buildings of Randolph-Macon College have been kindly tendered to us by its president, the Rev. W. A. Smith, D. D. Expense of living would oppose a temporary establishment, in time of war, in the vicinity of a large town; and with this principal regulating the decision, any large establishment, affording sufficient houseroom, with tableware and furniture at command, and, at the same time, affording full facilities of wood and water, would answer our wants."

General Smith then presented a detailed plan for the restoration of the Institute, and the reorganization of the School along the broadest imaginable lines, with an enumeration of the many reasons for its reëstablishment in Lexington, and a statement that the people of Lynchburg were willing to advance the funds for the erection of the necessary buildings, should the Institute be rebuilt in that city. It is difficult to understand how one whose life had been for a quarter of a century a struggle against apparently insurmountable difficulties, could be as optimistic as General Smith. It can only be explained by the fact that his heart was in his work, and, that being so, the will would make the way.

Until late in the summer, he cherished the hope that arrangements could be made for the resumption of academic duties in Lexington; but by the middle of August, he was compelled to recognize that this could not be done at the time appointed. The following order was then published and widely circulated:

"HEADQUARTERS, VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE,
"LEXINGTON, VA., August 18, 1864.

"GENERAL ORDERS—No. 22.

"I. The exercises of this Institution will be resumed at *Lexington* on the 1st day of October, on which day all officers and furloughed cadets will promptly report for duty.

"II. As the supplies of the Institution, embracing clothing, books, and subsistence stores, were destroyed by the public enemy, it is essential that each cadet shall bring with him a full supply of underclothing, one grey jacket, one pair of grey pants, one overcoat, two pairs of shoes, single mattress and bedding, four towels, comb, hairbrush, and toothbrush, and also a knife and fork. Mattresses can be bought here.

"III. If grey cloth can be bought by the cadets, the clothes can be made up at the Institute.

"IV. Each cadet will bring with him a list of his clothing to be filed with the Quartermaster.

"V. The difficulty, if not impossibility, of securing full supplies of meat, suggest the necessity of each cadet bringing with him 100 pounds of bacon. The amount brought will be credited to his expense account at the Government rates.

"VI. Each cadet will also bring with him the class books which may be required, as far as practicable. In the 4th Class, Smith's or Bourdon's Algebra, Legendre's Geometry, Levizac's French Grammar and Gil Blas. In the 3d Class, Smith's Analytical Geometry, and Davies' Descriptive Geometry. In the 2d Class, Courtnay's Calculus, are the books needed.

"VII. Temporary brick cabins are now in course of construction for the accommodation of the cadets. The wanton destruction of the barracks and other public buildings by the enemy, will deprive the cadets of the usual conveniences supplied them, but the patriotic spirit which animates the whole people will make them cheerfully endure many discomforts, until the Institution can be restored to its original condition.

"By command of Major-General F. H. Smith,

"J. H. MORRISON,
"A. A., V. M. I."

MAJOR-GENERAL ROBERT EDWARD RODES, C. S. A.

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR 1848-1851
PROFESSOR 1860-1864

But as fall approached, it was obvious even to the energetic and optimistic Superintendent that he could not, with the facilities available, conduct the School in Lexington, even were the cabins referred to completed on time.* There were more insurmountable difficulties than the lack of suitable quarters, among which were those of securing supplies, and the exposed position of Lexington, for the Confederate troops in Virginia were now concentrated about Richmond and Petersburg, with the exception of Early's command in the Valley, which was opposed by a greatly superior force, under Sheridan. In the event of Early's defeat by Sheridan the Valley would be open again to the invaders; and, as Grant had transferred Sheridan to the command of the Federal Army in the Valley, with the avowed purpose of overrunning it and reducing it to a state of utter desolation, the prospect of an uninterrupted occupation of Lexington was not a bright one. The idea of expending a large amount of money upon new buildings and equipment, under such circumstances, was out of the question.

Accordingly, the Board, at the persistent requests of the Confederate Government, directed that the Corps be reassembled on the postponed date, October 1st, at Camp Lee, instead of at Lexington, while arrangements for the resumption of academic work were being completed.

Colonels Preston, Gilham, Williamson, and Massie of the permanent faculty were on hand at the time appointed, and the Board fixed November 1st as the date for the resumption of academic duties. Meantime, the Corps was to be reorganized and reëquipped, during the month of October.

Although it had been understood by the Board of Visitors and the Superintendent that the Corps of

*These cabins were small two-storied brick structures erected on the hillside between the site of Barracks and the Mess Hall. There were four of them. They were torn down in 1903 and 1909, when the present Administration Building and Maury-Brook Hall were erected, respectively. It was in them that the cadets were quartered when the Institute was reopened after the war, September 10, 1866.

Cadets would be placed under the nominal command of General Kemper, commanding the Reserve Forces of Virginia, they had believed that the cadets would be exempted from field service, so that serious application to academic work might be secured. But almost immediately upon the appearance of the first cadets at Camp Lee, the following order was issued:

"HEADQUARTERS, RESERVE FORCES,
"October 8, 1864.

"SPECIAL ORDERS—No. 102.

"The commencement of the next regular session of the Virginia Military Institute having been postponed until the 1st of November next, all cadets who are not under seventeen years of age and not already assigned to duty in the field by orders from the War Department, or from these headquarters, are hereby required to report without delay to Maj. T. G. Peyton, commandant of the camp of instruction at Camp Lee, near Richmond, for immediate and temporary field-service. Cadets under seventeen years of age are also earnestly invited to report at once for assignment to duty.

"All furloughs and exemptions, heretofore granted to cadets, are, by command of the Secretary of War, revoked.

"The cadets will be released from field-service by or before the commencement of the session of the Institute.

"By order of Major-General Kemper,

"R. H. CATLETT,
"Assistant Adjutant-General."

Upon the publication of this order, the Superintendent, alarmed by what he deemed an arbitrary assumption of authority over the Corps of Cadets, addressed a protest to the Adjutant-General of Virginia.

"HEADQUARTERS, VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE,
"October 8, 1864.

"MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM H. RICHARDSON,
"Adjutant-General.

"GENERAL—I have this moment seen Special Orders No. 102, from the headquarters of the reserve forces, dated October 8, 1864, a copy of which I herewith enclose. The authority exercised by the Confederate authorities over the cadets of the Virginia Military Institute, under these orders, is directly in conflict with the in-

structions which I have received from the Governor of Virginia, under your order of October 14, 1862, and of the Special Order given to me personally by His Excellency, Governor Smith, in June, 1864. I feel myself embarrassed in my duty under the circumstances which surround the case. I extract the closing paragraph of your order of October 14, 1862.

" 'The Governor, in view of all these important facts, feels it to be incumbent upon him to direct the Superintendent of the Virginia Military Institute not to surrender any cadet who may be claimed as a conscript by the Confederate authority, until the constitutionality of the act of Congress, called the "Conscript Law," shall have been tested, the legislative will of the State ascertained, or until further orders.'

"The authorities of the Virginia Military Institute have no disposition to withhold the cadets from the service of the country in this hour of its peril and need. They have promptly sanctioned their service, without stint and at costly sacrifice of blood, to the cause of the country. But the State, through its Military Institute, stands as a guardian, in her sovereign capacity, to these young soldiers, and it seems to be but just and proper that when their services are required on the field of battle they should be sent forth under the authority of the State whose servants they are, that the care and protection which has been assumed and promised to them may be rendered. Where thus rallied around the standard of the country, they will present an organized Virginia command which may be extended to embrace many others who would promptly rally around the Virginia Military Institute, and by their efficiency render valuable service, without detriment to their morals.

"If Special Orders, No. 102, be persisted in, the organization of the Military Institute will be destroyed, and I apprehend the worst of consequences to the individual members of the Institute.

"I remain, General, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"FRANCIS H. SMITH,
*"Brevet Major-General and Superintendent."**

Upon receipt of this protest the Adjutant-General of Virginia obtained assurances from the Secretary of War that no intention of dispersing the cadets, or interfering with the conduct of the Institute, was entertained, and that the Corps would only be used under the most emergent conditions.

Prompt steps were now taken by the Secretary of War and General Kemper to reassemble the tactical officers of the Institute. Captains Henry A. Wise,

*Rebellion Records, Series IV, Vol. III, pp. 722-723.

Frank Preston, and T. B. Robinson, were ordered to report for duty with the Corps of Cadets,* and on the 14th of October the Secretary of War reassigned Lieutenant-Colonel Scott Shipp to duty as Commandant.** On the 22d, First Lieutenant C. Y. Steptoe, Adjutant 44th Virginia Infantry, was detailed by the Secretary of War, to complete the tactical staff.†

New cadets had reported in large numbers, and in addition to the appointment of many Confederate Cadets, the Secretary of War assigned no less than seven young conscripts to duty with the Corps at one time. But very few of the cadets furloughed at Lexington on June 27th rejoined, for most of them had found berths in the various armies of the Confederacy. The record of those who returned is imperfect. Late in January, there were but 50 cadets in the Third Class, and in March there were but 22 in the Second Class; so, in all probability, not more than 100 old cadets reported for duty October 1, 1864; but before the end of the month not less than 150 new cadets had matriculated.

Academic work in camp was out of the question, but in this the Confederate Government was not particularly interested. Its purpose in urging the reorganization of the Corps was a strictly military one. So long as the art of war was taught, and military training imparted to a large number of Southern youth, its expectations were fulfilled. This it demanded with an insistence which is the best evidence of its regard for the work of the institution in the past, from which it had profited so much. Besides, there were many military duties the cadets could perform, and they were in constant demand for such purposes.

The Corps had hardly begun to assemble when it was called upon by General Ewell, commanding the Department of Richmond, to furnish details on October 5th and 7th to receive about a thousand paroled Con-

*S. O. No. III, Reserve Forces of Va., Oct. 14, 1864; S. O. No. 117, Oct. 18, 1864.
**S. O. No. 244, A. & I. G. O., Oct. 14, 1864.
†S. O. No. 251, A. & I. G. O., Oct. 22, 1864.

federate prisoners at Cox's wharf in Rocketts, under a flag of truce.*

On the 27th of October, the Army of the Potomac, leaving only sufficient men in the trenches around Petersburg to maintain them against Lee, moved by the Confederate right. The Second Corps, followed by two divisions of the Fifth Corps, with the cavalry in advance and covering the Federal left flank, forced a passage over Hatcher's Run, and moved up south of it toward the South-Side Railroad, until the Second Corps, and part of the cavalry, reached the Boydton Plank Road where it crosses Hatcher's Run. At this point, the Federals were but six miles distant from the railroad which Grant had expected to reach and hold. But A. P. Hill met Hancock's Corps, and, after a desperate conflict, the Federals returned to their works about Petersburg.

In support of this movement, General Butler was directed to make a demonstration on the north side of the James, and attacked the enemy on the Williamsburg Road, and also along the York River Railroad. In the latter quarter, the Federals succeeded in taking a work which was soon abandoned.** This attack extended from the Darbytown Road to the Yorktown Road, the main fighting being near Fair Oaks. Butler states in his report that he kept the column of the 10th Corps, under Terry, and the column of the 18th Corps, under Weitzel (which assaulted Longstreet's lines on the 27th), in position, inviting attack until noon of the next day.†

It was during the fighting on the 27th, that the Secretary of War directed the Commandant to report with the Corps of Cadets to Lieutenant-General J. C. Pemberton, commanding the artillery defenses.‡ Pemberton who had organized the departmental employees into a reserve force, at once directed Colonel

*Original orders in possession of General Shipp.
**Rebellion Records, Series I, Vol. XLVI, Part 1, p. 31, Report of Gen. U. S. Grant.
†Rebellion Records, Series I, Vol. XLII, Part 1, p. 23.
‡S. O. No. 256, A. & I. G. O., October 27, 1864. Original in Gen. Shipp's possession.

Shipp to march out to the junction of the Williamsburg Road and the intermediate line of works, and to report to Lieutenant-Colonel Atkinson, commanding the First District, Artillery Defenses.

Upon arriving at Poe's farm, it was learned by the cadets that the enemy had been repulsed, Field's Division of Longstreet's Corps having taken seven stands of colors; but the Corps of Cadets was ordered to go into permanent camp as an infantry support for the nearby battery.*

While in this camp the service of the cadets consisted of daily drills and the usual picket and guard duty of a command in the field. The season was a severe one, and the discomforts experienced at Poe's farm were exceptionally trying. The Corps was sheltered in tents without walls or flies, and it became necessary as the winter approached to bank the tents with earth, and build fireplaces and chimneys with bricks and mortar. As the cadets were not skilled chimney builders, the occupancy of these tents was very disagreeable in cold weather, when green wood had to be used for fuel.

It should be noted here that the Corps of Cadets now comprised a part of the Confederate forces of the Department of Richmond, Lieutenant-General Ewell commanding, and was under the direct control of the Secretary of War. It had not been subject to the State authority since its departure from Camp Lee where it had been held in camp as a part of the Reserve Forces of Virginia.

November 10th, the District Commander requested the Commandant to furnish him with five cadet drillmasters for King's company of Reserve Artillery. For the next two weeks this command was drilled by the cadets detailed for the purpose from 2:30 to 3:30 P. M., daily.

During the summer of 1864, a tremendous effort was made by the War Department to cause the States to

*Lee's Official Dispatch, Oct. 27, 1864.

create reserve forces for garrison and other special duties, in order that the regular line regiments might be freed from such demands, and enabled to join the armies in the field. Accordingly, South Carolina undertook the organization of a command known as the Foreign Battalion, of which the men were recruited from among the foreigners in the various cities of the State. Some of these men were Federal prisoners who were willing enough to serve in either army, so long as their pay was forthcoming. Great difficulty had been experienced in securing officers able and willing to command these "Galvanized Yankees," as they were called. At the outset they mutinied and attempted to murder their officers. They were mingled in regard to nationality and showed no desire to fight. The expedient of securing young officers from the Institute for the Battalion was adopted by Lieutenant-Colonel I. G. Tucker, commanding, and during the summer the Commandant was requested to recommend a number of recent graduates for the office of Captain of Companies F, G, and H, First Foreign Battalion. Early in November, he was informed that five more companies were to be formed and urged to forward his recommendations which included among others Collier H. Minge, B. A. Colonna, Cary Weston, and W. C. Hardy, all of whom had been cadet officers in the New Market Battalion, graduating June 27, 1864.

All of those recommended were duly elected November 17th, and their certificates of election forwarded to the Commandant.

Under date of November 30th, the Commandant received a communication from Lieutenant-Colonel Tucker in which the following appeared:

"Your cadets who have reported have *more* than come up to the expectations the Colonel had formed, and give universal satisfaction. Bully for the old V. M. I."* In December, the Secretary of War, in order to complete the commissioned personnel of the First Foreign

*Original correspondence in possession of General Shipp.

Battalion, which had been organized in Columbia, assigned thereto J. G. Penn, a Confederate cadet, as Second Lieutenant Company G.* The Second Foreign Battalion was recruited in Aiken. The First Battalion was commanded by Colonna from the time of his arrival in South Carolina, and the experiences and exploits of this remarkable man furnish material for a separate volume.

The Superintendent had chafed with exceeding impatience, throughout the month of November, over the detention of the Corps of Cadets in the field, and had endeavored in vain to have some other command substituted at Poe's farm for it. At last it seemed he was to carry his point, when on November 28th, he secured the order of the Secretary of War for the cadets to be relieved and turned over to the State authorities for the purpose of resuming academic work, December 1st.**

But it was not to be, for a movement of the enemy was that day detected, and the operation of the order was at once suspended.† This was most exasperating to the Superintendent, but he was not discouraged, for he recognized the military exigencies of the situation. December 10th, however, the Corps of Cadets was finally relieved from duty in the trenches and again ordered to report to the Superintendent.‡

General Smith had meantime been very active in arranging for the reopening of the Institute.

The City of Richmond had at this time a very fine new Almshouse, erected just as the war broke out. The people were so poor in 1864, that none could give to its support, and the great building stood vacant, and had never been used. Knowing this, the resourceful Superintendent secured the spacious establishment for the use of the Institute, as it was quite suitable to its purposes. When the Corps was turned over to him he was thoroughly prepared to receive it.

*S. O. No. 288, A. & I. G. O., Dec. 5, 1864.
**S. O. No. 282, A. & I. G. O., Nov. 28, 1864.
†S. O. No. 283, A. & I. G. O., Nov. 28, 1864.
‡S. O. No. 293, A. & I. G. O., Dec. 10, 1864.

That day, the Commandant received at Poe's farm the following orders:

"HEADQUARTERS, VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE,
"RICHMOND, December 10, 1864.

"SPECIAL ORDERS—No. 126.

"I. The Corps of Cadets, having been relieved by the Secretary of War from their duty in the field and turned over to the authorities of the State, will be moved into the Alms House, Richmond, early Monday morning.

"II. With the view of enabling those cadets who have not been supplied with their outfit of clothing, etc., to visit their homes to procure the same, a furlough of 10 days will be allowed to all who will give the Superintendent satisfactory evidence that such an indulgence is desired by the parent or guardian, and can be availed of for the purpose.

"III. It is believed that cadets on furlough, under existing circumstances, will be entitled to transportation on the railroads at the same rates as soldiers on furlough, viz., half price.

"By command of Major-Gen'l F. H. Smith,

"J. H. MORRISON,
"A. A., V. M. I."

"HEADQUARTERS, VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE,
"RICHMOND, VA., December 10, 1864.

"GENERAL ORDERS—No. 28.

"I. The Board of Visitors having directed the temporary organization of the Institute at the Alms House, City of Richmond, immediate preparations will be made for the occupancy of the same.

"II. The Acting Asst. Quartermaster will appropriate the western wing of the building for the accommodation of the Professors and Officers of the Institute, allowing to each quarters according to his rank, and in proportion to the room at his disposal. He will designate rooms for the Quartermaster and Commissary Stores, for the Adjutant's Office, and a separate room for the stores in charge of the Steward, and will see that the keys of each room be turned over to the officer in charge of the same, and for which he will be held accountable.

"The mess-room and kitchen, with the rooms and pantries connected therewith, will be turned over, in like manner, to the Steward.

"After consultation with the Surgeon, one or more rooms will be selected in the western wing of the building for hospital purposes, and turned over to that officer, and ten rooms in the same wing will

be set apart for Recitation Rooms. Rooms will also be assigned to the servants and will be required by them to be kept in good order.

"III. All the rooms in the central building, except those otherwise specially appropriated, will be placed at the disposal of the Commandant of Cadets, for the accommodation of the Corps of Cadets, under such arrangements and regulations as he may prescribe, and for this purpose all the keys and public property in these rooms will be turned over to the Commandant of Cadets by the Acting Asst. Quartermaster.

"IV. As soon as the cadets are moved into the Alms House, all the regulations of police and discipline of the Virginia Military Institute will be enforced.

"V. The building now temporarily to be used for the exercises of the Institution has been secured by the liberal courtesy of the City Council of Richmond, and every care will be taken, on the part of the officers and cadets, that no mutilation, defacement, or other injury, be committed in any part of the same. Full pecuniary indemnity will not only be required for all such damage, but the party, if a cadet, will be subjected to such punishment as may be prescribed by the regulations.

"VI. Every precaution will be made to guard against fires, and no wastage of fuel or gas or water will be permitted.

"By command of Major-Gen'l F. H. Smith,

"J. H. MORRISON,
"Act. Adjt., V. M. I."

Most of the Virginia cadets took advantage of the furlough authorized, and on December 30th academic exercises were ordered to commence the following Monday.

The prescribed instruction for the various classes was as follows:

1ST CLASS

Rhetoric, alternate days, 8 to 4 P. M.
Moral Philosophy, alternate days, 8 to 4 P. M.
Engineering, daily, 9 to 10 A. M.
Natural Philosophy, daily, 11 to 12 A. M.
Ordnance and Gunnery, daily, 1 to 2 P. M.

2D CLASS

Mathematics, three sections, 9 A. M. to 12, daily.
Latin, three sections, 12 to 3 P. M., daily.
Chemistry, whole class, 3 to 4 P. M., daily.
Infantry Tactics, daily.

3D CLASS

Mathematics, five sections, 9 A. M. to 12, daily.
Latin, four sections, 12 to 4 P. M., daily.
French, four sections, 12 to 4 P. M., daily.

4TH CLASS

Mathematics, eight sections, 9 A. M. to 12, daily.
French, eight sections, 12 to 4 P. M., daily.
Geography, four sections, alternate days, 2 to 4 P. M.

The military routine was as follows:

Reveille, 6 A. M.
Troop, 7:30 A. M.
Breakfast Roll Call, 8:30 A. M.
Dinner Roll Call, 4:30 P. M.
Retreat, sunset.
Call to Quarters, 9 A. M., and one hour after Retreat.
Tattoo, 9 P. M.
Taps, 10 P. M.
Study hours from Reveille to Troop, from 9. A. M. to 4 P. M., and from Evening Call to Quarters to Tattoo.
Church Roll Call, 9:30 A. M.

There were but two meals served, and full duty was prescribed for Saturdays. But four cadets from each company were allowed passes each day. The cadet limits were fixed as the grounds surrounding the Barracks and the side walk surrounding the Cemetery, in front thereof.

Upon the resumption of academic work the faculty consisted of General Smith, and Colonels Preston, Williamson, Gilham, Massie, and Shipp, and Captains Semmes, Wise, Robinson, Preston, Hill, and Morrison, Officers of the Institute, and Colonel J. D. H. Ross, and Lieutenant C. Y. Steptoe, both of whom were suffering from wounds. They were attached by order of the Secretary of War.

With a knowledge of the foregoing provisions, one could have little doubt that serious work was contemplated by the Superintendent. Verily, was the 28th of December, 1864, a day of triumph for him. For

twenty-two years, he had labored incessantly building up Virginia's great School of Arms, only to see war threaten, in 1861, to disperse forever his scholars. Again in 1862, he had reorganized the institution and built it up upon a foundation of incalculable usefulness to the South. Amid all the surrounding dangers he had held steadfastly to his purpose, and as occasion had required, the cadet had cast aside the text-book to sally forth to the defense of his lecture halls, each time returning to pick up the work of education where it had been dropped. And, then, pressing on with the avowed purpose of destroying the School, the enemy could no longer be denied; Virginia's great institution had then been desolated by the invader. But only the School in its physical form could be prostrated. The spirit which had created and maintained it still burned as brightly as before, and now, with facilities beyond all expectations, a full faculty reassembled, and nearly 300 youths from every section of the nation, testifying by their presence to the high esteem of the Southern people, and the respect with which the Confederate Government held this indispensable adjunct of its military establishment, the West Point of the Confederacy was again to open its academic halls. This result, though meeting with the wishes of all, was accomplished by the indomitable will of a single individual—Francis Henney Smith.

What could be more fitting than that we should here let that faithful servant of his country speak as he spoke to the assembled officers and cadets, and the many distinguished soldiers, officials, and citizens, who gathered together at the Almshouse, December 28th, 1864, to celebrate the resumption of the academic duties of the Institute.*

*The following is the introductory lecture read before the Corps of Cadets on this memorable occasion by the Superintendent. It was published in pamphlet form in 1865 by order of the Board of Visitors, and the only copy of that paper ever seen by the writer, or known by him to exist, was presented to him in 1913 by Mrs. Crawford, of Williamsburg (née Elizabeth Ewell Scott), a kinswoman of General Ewell, commanding the Department of Richmond in December, 1864, to whom in the handwriting of General Smith it was inscribed. It is here inserted in full, not only to preserve the text, but because it is one of the most remarkable papers ever written concerning the Institute.

"Many days of memorable interest are traced in undying characters through the brief annals of the Virginia Military Institute.

"That cold and blustering eve, on the 11th of November, 1839, when a squad of young Virginians unfurled the banner of their State from the Arsenal building at Lexington, as the standard of the 'V. M. I. Cadet,' will never be forgotten by any who participated in that interesting ceremony.

"The 4th of July, 1842, was the birthday of the First Graduating Class,—the pioneers in the great work to which the institution had been dedicated by its founders.

"When on the 4th of July, 1850, General Philip St. George Cocke, as President of the Board of Visitors, laid with impressive ceremonials the corner-stone of that magnificent building, erected by the liberality of the State of Virginia, all felt that *that day* permanently fixed the State policy in support of the Virginia Military Institute. Ten hard probationary years had rolled away—the test of experiment in its severest ordeal had been applied,—and, with the plaudit 'well done!', the Commonwealth of Virginia adopted as her own the bantling of 1839.

"Who can ever forget that turbulent crowd—eager for the fray—which sought, under the plea of a fancied insult, to give vent to the revolutionary fires that burned within. The State of Virginia had actually seceded, but her independence was not publicly known—and that Saturday afternoon, in April, 1861, was nigh witnessing a sanguinary drama, the prelude to the struggle which soon followed.*

"Ah, what memories cluster around the 15th of May, 1864! The battlefield had been familiar to most of those trained in this nursery of patriot soldiers. But that day was signalized by the conspicuous gallantry of the Corps of Cadets as a battalion—and the dead—and the wounded—and the living—bear testimony to the glory

*Gen. Smith here refers to the flag raising in Lexington. See previous chapter.

which encircles the brow of all who participated in that brilliant victory of New Market.

"Just one month later, and the clouds of heaven reflected the conflagration which made the cherished home of the cadet a mass of ruins!

"Memorable days! all of these! And now, once more, to-day, in this building, appropriated as an asylum for the destitute and the homeless, we are to add another to the many eventful days in our memorable history.

"Truly, every cadet is to realize now the character and the destiny of the soldier-scholar. He finds himself in a beleaguered city. The roar of the cannon awakes him in the morning—and lulls him to sleep at night. He has to study with his armor on, and his musket by his side, ready for the lecture room or the battlefield, as duty may call. Cadets! Soldier-scholars! you are to make this day memorable, as illustrating by your valor on the one hand, and by your assiduity on the other, the spirit of the institution which aims to train you, amid these surroundings, for the crisis of your country's history.

"It is surely not necessary for me, at this time, to refer to the many and serious difficulties which embarrass an institution like this, in its efforts to continue its operations under the circumstances which surround it. There is scarcely a comfort that may be required for you, as a soldier or a scholar, that has not been procured and preserved, at great labor and with much uncertainty. Even the house which now shelters you was the only available one at command, and this has been secured, with all its inconveniences and want of adaptedness, under discouragements and serious hindrances. There must then have been good and substantial reasons with the governing authorities of the institution to order its continuance, at such a time and under such circumstances. It is proper that these reasons should be distinctly set before you to-day.

"And the first and paramount motive was—a sense of the essential importance of this military school to the military defense of our suffering and bleeding country.

When the Confederate Army was first organized, on the opening of the war, most persons felt the importance of military education. The graduates of the U. S. Military Academy at West Point, of the Virginia Military Institute, and of the various military schools of the South were promptly and eagerly sought for, to take commanding positions in this army.

"Some *eight hundred* of those who have been educated at this institution were placed in commission—and many of them occupied stations of high rank and responsibility. It is estimated that one-tenth of the Confederate Army, in 1862, was under the command of officers who had been trained in arms here. Even the cadets were brought into requisition at once as drill-masters, and here, at Camp Lee—in a continued and laborious service of nearly three months—drilled 15,000 (20,000) of the gallant army that achieved the First Battle of Manassas.

"And the country reaped the benefits of this providential supply of well-qualified officers. The signal success which crowned our arms, especially in Virginia, was earned by the valor of our troops, under the training and discipline of such commanders.

"But other views, in the progress of the war, gained ground. It has been thought that the battlefield is the place to tutor officers—and that, now that our whole country has been made one military camp, the lessons which shall qualify the soldier for command, are only properly to be acquired there. Legislation has followed the popular idea; appointments to command are made by popular election; popularity, or supposed fitness, secures advancement in many cases, to the rejection of the educated military talent of the country.

"It is not to be denied that military genius is not to be tied down to any routine, and that the camp and the battlefield are emphatically the positions to test and develop the military qualities of an officer. Many of our most distinguished leaders have received only this practical training. But, after making the fullest al-

lowances for these exceptional cases, and giving the fullest credit to the importance of that experience which public service alone can give, I am prepared to say that our country is now reaping the consequences of grave error on this point, and that the disasters which have attended our arms have been mainly due to the lack of that discipline and drill which it is the special province of military schools to impart. Men may be never so brave; they may be led by officers who know no fear; but unless they are moved in the order, and with the command which educated discipline gives, the army suffers under defeat, and hard-earned victories are thrown away, and turned into disasters.

"Need I cite instances to illustrate this truth? From Shiloh to the unfortunate disaster at Cedar Creek, the whole war presents the painful fact, that where valor has achieved the greatest successes, the want of discipline and drill has entailed upon us many serious reverses.

"The Father of his Country, when President of the United States, had learned, from his experience in the field, the importance of military instruction. In his annual message, December 3d, 1793, he suggested the inquiry, whether the act of Congress of May 8th, 1793, 'more effectually to provide for the national defense', etc., accomplished the desired objects; and whether a material feature in the improvement of the scheme 'ought not to be, to afford an opportunity for the study of those branches of the art, which can scarcely ever be attained by practice alone.' And in his message of December 7, 1796, he again introduced the subject of military instruction, in the following explicit terms:

" 'The institution of a military academy is also recommended by cogent reasons. . . . Whatever argument may be drawn from particular examples superficially viewed, a thorough examination of the subject will evince that the art of war is both comprehensive and complicated; that it demands much previous study; and that the possession of it in its most improved and

A WAR-TIME CADET OFFICER
(B. A. COLONNA, COMMANDING CO. D, 1864)

perfect state, is always of great moment to the security of the nation.'

"These views led to the establishment of the Military Academy at West Point, and the practical benefits which have resulted from that important arm of national defense have been so conspicuously seen by the Federal Government since this war commenced that, instead of suspending its operations, or restricting its sphere of usefulness, in consequence of the number of trained officers whom practice in the field had brought out, increased vigor has been given to its administration, and it is reported that the number of cadets has been increased to double its usual complement.

"Nor has the U. S. Army failed to reap the advantages anticipated by the Father of his Country. With a mercenary body of men, animated by no such principle as that which fires the breast of every Southern patriot, its discipline and drill have preserved it from disaster, when defeated, and given it a power that mere force of numbers could not impart.

"Shall we turn to the pages in the history of the French Revolution of 1789 for additional illustrations confirmatory of the view I am now presenting? Thiers thus writes:

" 'The permanent requisition decreed by the French Assembly, in August, 1793, had filled the army with soldiers, but officers were wanting. The Committee acted in this respect with its accustomed promptitude.' 'The Revolution,' said Barrère, 'must accelerate all things for the supply of its wants. The revolution is to the human mind, what the sun of Africa is to vegetation.' The school of Mars was reëstablished. Young men, selected from all the provinces, repaired, on foot, and in military order, to Paris. Encamped in tents on the plain of Sablons, they repaired thither to acquire rapid instruction in all the departments of the art of war, and then to be distributed among the armies.

"So, that instead of relaxing military instruction, when a general conscription called every able-bodied

soldier into the field to resist the armies of the allies, such necessities made more urgent the reëstablishment of a school which had been closed amid the disorders incident to the opening of the revolution. And France reaped the benefits of such a provision. The subaltern officers of the army,—those upon whom must depend the discipline and drill of the companies, that regiments, brigades and divisions may be moved with celerity, order and effect—were supplied from these military schools; and the successes of 1794, and the following years, were the fruits of the policy so happily enforced.

"To these illustrations, drawn from history, I will only add the testimony of the great and invincible commander of the Army of Northern Virginia. The reopening of the Virginia Military Institute, 1st January, 1862, after its temporary suspension in the summer and fall of 1861, was urged in emphatic terms by General Robert E. Lee, as one of the chief instrumentalities to keep up the supply of well-qualified officers; and on the 4th of July, 1864, he thus expresses himself:

" 'I have grieved over the destruction of the Military Institute, but the good it has done to the country can not be destroyed, nor can its name or fame perish. It will rise stronger than before, and continue to diffuse its benefits to a grateful people. Under your wise administration, there will be no suspension of its usefulness. The difficulties by which it is surrounded will call forth greater energies from its officers, and increased diligence from its pupils. Its prosperity I consider certain.'

"We are thus engaged in a great public work which looks to the success of our arms, in this life-struggle for our independence, when we aim not only to maintain life in this Military School of Virginia, but to impart to it all the vigor and efficiency which the circumstances of the times and of the country may allow, that educated officers may be provided for our armies. We know no more effectual way of repairing the exhaustions of the battlefield. Already, more than one hundred (nearer

two hundred and fifty) of the most gifted Alumni of this school have fallen in battle, and some three hundred more have been wounded or disabled, making about one-half of those who had been in commission. Every battle swells this number; and, unless the views I have been presenting are delusions, it will be impossible to maintain and preserve that discipline and drill which I have insisted upon as essential to our success, without the annual additions to the educated military talent of the country, which this and other military schools of the South supply. Improper or ill-advised legislation may, for a time, keep the educated cadet out of the position of greatest usefulness to the country; but all here trained, if true to themselves and to the institution which nurtures them, will ultimately rise to the positions for which they are qualified.

"To this great and paramount reason for continuing the operations of this institution, is added another—the *felt necessity for some adequate provision for the general education of the youth of our country.*

"Schools of every grade have, to a greater or less extent, been suspended by the necessities of the military service. Young men above the age of seventeen are brought into the army by the force of the conscription; so that all colleges are, for the most part, suspended, and find employment only in the disabled soldier, or the grammar school. But this institution, by virtue of its peculiar relations to the State, as a part of its military organization, and still more, in consequence of the material advantages resulting to the Confederate Government, by the continued operations of so important an establishment, has hitherto been enabled to protect its pupils from conscription; and it is believed when the reasons for so doing are fully understood—and results commensurate with public expectation are fully received—their exemption will still continue as an essential element in the public defense. This circumstance, then, gives an opportunity for a vigorous prosecution of the academic studies of the

institution, and imposes upon the governing authorities the weighty responsibility of giving effect to the urgent demands of a high public duty.

"For these two great purposes then:

"1. *To educate officers for service in our Armies.*

"2. *To impart general education to the youth of our country* we are assembled under the peculiar circumstances which surround us to-day. We have now our work distinctly before us. It is a serious work. There is no child's play in it. It is a work which will tax every energy of your Professors and Officers, and it is a work which will demand, on your part, every effort that assiduity, self-denial, and resolution can call into requisition. I desire every cadet in this institution to comprehend and appreciate fully and distinctly the objects before him, the objects, I mean, which the letter of his appointment, and the order calling him here, contemplate. Some may have private objects in view. Some may consider this a good place to frolic, or to spend money, or to have fun. Are there any so craven as to come here to keep out of the army? To enter a kind of place establishment? The memories of New Market and the Williamsburg Road forbid this. But, whatever be the private motive which draws any cadet to this Military School, unless these are subordinated to the two great and paramount motives which I have specified, he has no business here, and as soon as this fact is demonstrated, he will have the opportunity to withdraw. That cadet who, having passed the age of seventeen, spends his time in idleness, or folly, or mischief, is—as was well remarked by one of my associates on a former occasion—a skulker from military service, and this is no place for him.

"With such views of our motives, and of what should be yours, you will be prepared to know that all of our regulations of study and discipline are made to correspond with these general ideas. We can not lose Saturdays. Time is now too precious for that. One

day saved to study in each week, after so long a suspension, will gain a month in a session. No general suspension from duties or absences from the institution can be allowed. Reasons which respect the morals of the young might be given, but the paramount duty of being at all times ready, and at our posts, for any call of the country, makes it necessary that absences should be restricted to a daily detail of a limited number.

"And, now, in conclusion, if our work be earnest—because we live in a time of anxiety and responsibility—how important is it, that we keep ourselves always ready; not merely as soldiers, but as men, as rational and immortal men—men who have to give an account of themselves to God; who live, not for time only, but for eternity. Let it be the purpose and effort of every one connected with this institution, to live as soldiers of a Divine Leader, that we may be the better qualified for the duties which claim our service here, and prepared for the inheritance reserved for those who *love God* and *keep His commandments*—for this is *the whole duty of man.*"

CHAPTER XXVI

1865—IN THE TRENCHES AGAIN—"SAUVE QUI PEUT"

THE Superintendent had warned the cadets that little time would be wasted on those who showed no desire to profit from the opportunities afforded them by the reopening of the Institute. He was true to his word, and almost daily some of the triflers were "shipped."

January 19th, the faculty received a valuable accession in the person of Lieutenant-Colonel John W. Lyell, Class of 1859, detailed by the War Department, while recovering from the loss of an arm in battle. He was assigned to the Department of French and Mathematics.

"On the 1st of January the cadets reported promptly for duty; and academic duties, so-called, were begun. It can be imagined that studies were pursued under great difficulties in the Confederate Capital, at a time of such stress, confusion and excitement. But we did the best we could, and were ready at all times to obey orders.

"The Almshouse was to many of us a doleful place. Shockoe Hill Cemetery was just across the street in front of us. The Jewish Cemetery to our left, separated from us by an area used for a parade ground, the Colored Cemetery to the rear, and in the rear, just outside the enclosure, the "Gallows," with many gruesome associations.

"The guard duty here was reduced to a minimum, as the building was surrounded by a high wall with locked gates.

"We had enough to eat, our fare consisting of wheat or corn bread, corn beef and molasses, served in tin plates before we took our seats. Our knives and forks

were primitive, and these we carried with us as we marched to and from our meals.

"Our life was not altogether monotonous. The 'Second Street Toughs' were constantly gibing the cadets whenever they appeared, and so insufferable had this become, at one time, that a collision between these rowdies and the cadets was constantly feared. On one occasion, the cadets broke out of Barracks to have it out with these offenders; but our vigilant Commandant soon had us securely corralled in our quarters."*

January 11th, 1865, in tendering the Commandant's Report of the field service of the Corps of Cadets, during the New Market and Lynchburg campaigns, the Superintendent appended thereto the following remarks:

"I submit also a list of the casualties among the Professors and Assistant Professors of the Institution since April 20, 1861, which presents in a conspicuous light the part borne by them in our great struggle."

KILLED

1. Lieut.-Gen. T. J. Jackson, Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy, battle of Chancellorsville.
2. Maj.-Gen. R. E. Rodes, Professor of Applied Mechanics, battle of Winchester.
3. Capt. W. H. Morgan, Assistant Professor of Languages, battle of Cedar Mountain.
4. Lieut. Llewellyn Crittenden, Assistant Professor of Languages, battle of Richmond.

(Also Private R. A. Crawford, Assistant Professor, died of disease in Army.)

WOUNDED

1. Brig.-Gen. John McCausland, Assistant Professor of Mathematics, battle of Monocacy.
2. Col. Stapleton Crutchfield, Adjunct Professor of Mathematics, battle of Chancellorsville.**
3. Lieut.-Col. J. D. H. Ross, Assistant Professor of Mathematics, battle of Cross Keys.

*Taken from an article which appeared in the V. M. I. "Cadet," by Col. Francis H. Smith, Jr., Jan. 3, 1914.

**Later killed at Sailor's Creek, April, 1865.

4. Lieut.-Col. Scott Shipp, Commandant of Cadets, battle of New Market.

5. Maj. M. B. Hardin, Adjunct Professor of Chemistry, battle of Fort Harrison.

6. Maj. W. E. Cutshaw, Assistant Commandant of Cadets, battle of Winchester.

7. Capt. O. C. Henderson, Assistant Professor of French, battle of Cedar Mountain.

8. Capt. A. G. Hill, Assistant Professor of French, battle of New Market.

9. Lieut. C. Y. Steptoe, Assistant Professor of French, battle of Fredericksburg.

10. Lieut.-Col. J. W. Massie, Adjunct Professor of Mathematics, permanently disabled by exposure at Fort Donelson.

11. Capt. Frank Preston, Assistant Professor of Latin, lost an arm at the battle of Winchester.

12. Lieut.-Col. J. W. Lyell, Assistant Professor of Mathematics, wounded five times in battle and retired from military service in consequence of the loss of an arm."*

From the foregoing statement, it is seen that the officers of the Institute did not occupy positions on the professorial staff which removed them from the dangers of battle. What a noble record is that of the War Faculty!

Too much credit can not be accorded these valiant men who stood ready, at all times, to join the colors, and actually did join the army whenever circumstances released them from their more important labors at the Institute. Who shall know how much of disappointment it cost them to surrender their desires to win glory in the field, when ordered back to the Institute, from time to time? One only need read, as the author has done, the insistent applications of the young Commandant, Scott Shipp, placed in command of cadets some of whom were older than himself, to perceive how ardently he longed for opportunities to distinguish himself in the field. Every time, however, he was overborne by the appeals of older men like the Adjutant-General, who urged upon him, again and again, the

*Rebellion Records, Series I, Vol. XXXVII, Part 1, pp. 88-89. Col. Lyell assigned to duty by S. O. No. 300, A. & I. G. O. Appointed full professor of Mathematics in 1872 and served till July, 1889, when he resigned.

view that he could render the Confederacy no higher service than in the office he filled with such peculiar ability and distinction. Twice was Scott Shipp elected to high office in the line, each time to be persuaded, contrary to his own desires, to surrender his commission and return to the Institute; twice again was he tendered high office, only to be dissuaded from accepting by the appeals of his friends, in the interest of the Institute. Once, after the Covington raid, in the face of all opposition, he actually tendered his resignation, but, due to Generals Smith and Richardson, it was not accepted by the Board of Visitors. He could not be spared. And so he remained at his post, in a sense, a victim of his own efficiency.

One thing is certain. The Confederate States of America was called upon to make no sacrifice of valuable officers to conduct its Military School, for not one of them but served on numerous occasions in the field, and was at all times rendering peculiarly valuable service to the country. Small wonder that the faculty of the Institute always possessed the highest respect of the cadets; for, unconsciously, from its battle-scarred or warworn members, youth, however vaporous, however contumacious, drew an inspiration. It is not what men teach from books; it is not their pedagogy, or mere discourse, however learned it may be; but the rectitude of their lives, their genuineness, their beings shorn of all sham, in short, *their character,* that wins and retains the admiration and affection of youth. Post-graduate degrees and fanciful academic embellishments are as worthless in a faculty set over young men, as the preacher's creed, when earnestness, knowledge of human nature, and character are lacking. The learned may be beguiled or misled by such things, but youth, never. Faculties can not be bought, for character is never found on the market. And, so, it is to-day that the cadets of long ago remember, not what "Old Spex," "Old Tom," "Old Bald," "Old Gill," "Old Jack," or "Old Billy" taught them out of text-books in those

troublous times, but the most trivial incidents in their daily relations with those splendid men.

The Corps of Cadets, like the faculty, was, at all times, prepared to respond to any call that might be made upon it.

January 29th, Colonel Andrew W. Evans, First Maryland Cavalry, commanding the 3d Brigade, Cavalry Division, Army of the James, set out from Butler's headquarters with 35 officers and 806 men at daybreak, and, in a few hours, reached Long Bridge on the Chickahominy. Upon receiving intelligence of the approach of this raiding column, the Corps of Cadets was ordered by General Ewell to be held in readiness to take the field. But Evans found the stream unfordable; and, after dispatching Major Hamilton with a battalion of the First N. Y. Mounted Rifles to Bottom's Bridge, the whole command withdrew by the Haxall's Landing and Shirley roads. When it was discovered late that night that the raiders had retired, the following communication was dispatched to the Commandant:

"HD. QR. DEPT., RICHMOND,
"Jan. 31, 1865.

"SIR—The enemy's raiding party having retired, there is no longer occasion to keep the Corps of Cadets in readiness for active service.

"The absence of troops from the lines in the immediate vicinity of Richmond makes it necessary, in case of a sudden emergency, that troops should be moved promptly to the point exposed to attack. If you will inform me how long it would take to get the cadets under arms, and in readiness to take the field, I could time any call so as not to apply until the last emergency, and thus avoid useless interruptions.

"I enclose the telegram just received. I have approved a requisition for ammunition, which I recommend should be stored in a safe place for future use.

"Very resp'y,
"R. S. EWELL,
"*Lt.-General.*

"Com'd'g Officer,
"Corps of Cadets."*

*Original in handwriting of General Ewell in General Shipp's possession.

February 27th, Sheridan's command started from Winchester, and, marching *via* Staunton, routed the remnant of Early's force at Waynesboro, on March 2d. From this point, Sheridan proceeded to Charlottesville; from Charlottesville the command proceeded in two columns, Sheridan himself with Custer's division turning south toward Lynchburg, while Merritt in command of Devin's division was ordered to Scottsville, on the James River, with instructions to march along the canal and destroy every lock as far as New Market.

After destroying the Lynchburg Railroad as far as Amherst Courthouse, Sheridan and Custer moved across the country and joined Merritt at New Market. In the meantime, Merritt had dispatched the First Michigan Cavalry, Colonel Maxwell commanding, down the Rivanna River to Palmyra, and thence toward Columbia.

Learning that Fitz Lee's cavalry and a portion of Pickett's division were threatening him from Lynchburg, Sheridan now determined to join Grant before Petersburg, and reached Columbia with his whole command on the 10th; while General Fitzhugh with his brigade moved on ahead, destroying the locks, warehouses, etc., along the canal up to a point eight miles east of Goochland Courthouse. Sheridan now determined to strike the Virginia Central Railroad with Custer's division, at Frederick's Hall, and with Merritt's at Louisa Courthouse, injuring this road (which was still intact from Gordonsville to Richmond) as much as possible, while passing northward across the Pamunkey.

Fitzhugh's march on the 11th to Goochland Courthouse was opposed by about 50 men of the Seventh South Carolina Cavalry, which were of course able to make no real resistence, although they engaged the Federals in a skirmish at the Courthouse. The locks between Columbia and Goochland Courthouse were partly demolished, 15 canal boats loaded with commissary stores destroyed; and the prison at the Courthouse

burned. Leaving Goochland at 6 P. M., the brigade returned to Columbia that night; but a strong scouting party which proceeded to within 16 miles of Richmond had been heralded as the advance of Sheridan's entire command.*

The authorities in Richmond, who had not forgotten how nearly Dahlgren's raiders had succeeded in reaching the city in February, 1864, at once ordered out the Reserves and the Corps of Cadets. These troops were marched rapidly out the Westham Road, on the morning of the 11th, and deployed in a line reaching from the locks on the canal near the old Westham Arsenal across the hills on the north bank of the river, as far as the Westham Road. The cadets occupied the extreme left on the canal, the post of greatest danger, as the enemy was reported moving down the towpath. Their position was oddly enough on the farm of the Adjutant-General (William H. Richardson), next to the present property of Mr. Cole Scott, of Richmond. General Richardson no doubt had something to do with having them stationed there, as he knew the Corps of Cadets was far more likely to repel the raiders than the lame and halt departmental clerks, and the others comprising the Reserves.

Upon arriving in position, the cadets threw up hasty intrenchments of logs and fence rails, and anxiously awaited the enemy; but, upon learning that troops were in position guarding the approaches, the scouting party turned back and rejoined Fitzhugh's brigade.

The next day the Corps of Cadets returned to the Almshouse, without having fired a shot. Thus ended their eleventh appearance in the field.

The Confederacy was now in a desperate plight. We can not here undertake to discuss the condition of Lee's Army, or the misfortunes which had befallen the Confederate forces in other quarters. But as Lee's need of men—not officers but privates—grew greater and greater, the more difficult it became to secure them.

*See Sheridan's and Fitzhugh's Reports, Rebellion Records, Series I, Vol. XLVI, Part 1, pp. 474-499.

As Sherman cut the far South in twain, and penetrated to the very vitals of the nation, "a subtle enemy, till then well-nigh unknown, assailed the Army of Northern Virginia, which still haughtily held its front; and men, with bated breath and cheeks flushing through their bronze, whispered the dread word, 'Desertion.'

"The historian, far removed from the passions of the time, may coldly measure out his censure; but we, bound to these men by countless proud traditions, can only cry with the old Hebrew prophet, 'Alas, my brother!' and remember that these were valiant souls, too sorely tried.

"From the cotton lands of Georgia and the rice fields of Carolina, came, borne on every blast, the despairing cry which wives and little ones raised to wintry skies lit by the baleful glare of burning homes; and the men of the South bethought them of the homesteads which lay straight in the path of the ruthless Conqueror."*

In the winter of 1864-65, there was powder in plenty and the army was better armed than ever before. In fact, there was a surplus of muskets, for men were lacking to bear those on hand.

It was at this juncture that Colonel John Thomas Lewis Preston, while acting Superintendent of the Virginia Military Institute, in the temporary absence of General Smith, offered a suggestion to the Government, which, had it been made and acted upon before, might have saved the Confederacy.

Let us read this letter:

"HEADQUARTERS, VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE,
"February 17, 1865.

"HON. J. C. BRECKINRIDGE,
"Secretary of War.

"DEAR SIR—The present state of the country justifies any one in presenting for consideration of the Government well-meant suggestions, even if they should appear crude to those who are better informed.

*Address of Captain W. Gordon McCabe, Sixth Annual Reunion, A. N. V., Nov. 2, 1876.

"The tone of public sentiment, and the tenor of present legislation, indicate that the call of General Lee for negro troops will be responded to.

"I suggest that the maximum number allowed to be raised should be half a million.

"I do not suppose that so many are required, or could be obtained. But to place the maximum at this figure would, I believe, inspire dread in the minds of our enemy, who exaggerates, through ignorance, our power in this particular; and further, to call for half a million would, by the effect upon the minds of owners and slaves, facilitate and insure the raising of 200,000.

"The second suggestion I would make is, that in the event of the troops being raised, you might command the services of the Corps of Cadets with their officers to perform the work of organization and drilling in the shortest time, and with the greatest efficiency.

"In 1861, between the 20th of April and 20th of June, the cadets drilled 15,000* men of the Army of Northern Virginia, and if a large camp of instruction were established at Camp Lee, the same work could be done for all negro troops that would be sent there.

"Allow me to say that these suggestions are the result of conversation among some of the officers of our School, and the last one is contained in a letter to me from General Smith, our Superintendent who is now absent at Lexington.

"Very respectfully, General, your obedient servant,

"J. T. L. PRESTON,

*"Acting Superintendent, Virginia Military Institute."***

Had the war continued for any length of time, there is no doubt that this plan would have been adopted, but when presented, neither the officers of the Institute from whom the suggestion emanated, nor any one else, except those in charge of the government, and General Lee, perceived how near at hand was the end.

On the 29th, Longstreet telegraphed Lee:

"The usual force is in our front, so far as we can learn. Our scouts are in from enemy's line this morning, and report affairs as usual. If Field's division is taken away from this side, all of the Locals must be put in his place, as will be the cadets. When you call

*20,000—See Rebellion Records.

**Rebellion Records, Series IV, Vol. III, p. 1093. There were approximately 200,000 negro troops in the Federal Army.

for him, please call at the same time upon the Secretary of War for the Locals, the Governor for the cadets and General Ewell for his forces. Shall the other of General Pickett's brigades move at once?"*

On the 1st of April, Longstreet wrote Ewell:

"General Lee thinks the Twenty-fourth Corps is on the other side operating against our right, and of course wants some of the force that is on this side with him. If it is true that the Twenty-Fourth Corps has gone to the south-side, Field's division should go there also, but our lines here should be partially occupied at least. Can you, by turning out your Battalion of Cadets, muster 1,500 men and occupy our huts and lines on the Charles City Road, for a week or ten days?"**

Later, the same day, he directed Ewell to turn out all the forces at his command, and march them down the Charles City Road to relieve Field's division in the outer line of works, directing him to send an officer ahead to acquaint himself with the picket line which was to be held by Field's pickets, until they were relieved.†

At this time, Ewell had in Richmond but three battalions of convalescents, in addition to the Corps of Cadets; but these, with Kershaw's division, would be the only troops remaining to man Longstreet's works and confront Butler's Army, after the proposed removal of Field's division. The order for the cadets to march to Longstreet's rifle-pits, along the outer line, was accordingly given by the Secretary of War.

"On the night of April 1st, 1865, it was apparent to us that something out of the ordinary was to take place. Rockets and other signals were seen, and a general air of excitement seemed to prevail. At Taps many of us kept our clothes on, and watched from the windows, expecting orders of some sort calling out the Corps. We did not have to wait long, for in a short time a horse-

*Rebellion Records, Series I, Part III, p. 1363.
**Ibid., p. 1376.
†Ibid.; also see Ewell's Report, p. 1293.

man rode rapidly to the front of Barracks, and on being challenged by the sentinel, asked for the Superintendent; and soon we learned, from the sounding of the long roll, that the expected order had been received. We were quickly in ranks, and permission was given to those under age to fall out, if they desired to do so. It need hardly be said, none availed themselves of this privilege.

"We were marched through the streets of Richmond —not knowing our destination—through Rocketts, a suburb of the city, destined, as we afterwards learned, for Longstreet's rifle-pits. We met a portion of Longstreet's Corps on our march that night."*

Just after sunrise, the two brigades which Field had left on picket were relieved by Lieutenant-Colonel Scott Shipp who had been placed by Ewell in command of this section of the outer line.**

"The cadets were placed in the rifle pits early Sunday morning, April 2d. We were separated from the enemy by a heavy body of pines. Our pickets, and those of the enemy, were in speaking distance."†

During the day, the cadets remained in the rifle-pits, expecting to be attacked at any moment, and "when the tremendous cheering of the enemy was heard, from time to time, we thought our time had come. If there was anything more uncomfortable than this waiting, we did not care to experience it."

At 8:20 P. M., Ewell received a dispatch from General Lee stating that it would be necessary for him to abandon the lines at Petersburg, that night, and asking if he could withdraw from Richmond. Later, he received specific orders to evacuate the city.‡

Late in the afternoon, Ewell sent out a squadron of dismounted cavalry to relieve the Corps of Cadets which was at once marched under orders to Richmond. From

*Account of Col. Francis H. Smith, Jr., V. M. I. "Cadet", Jan. 8, 1914.
**See Ewell's Report.
†Col. Smith.
‡Rebellion Records, Ibid., p. 1380.

BARRACKS AFTER HUNTER'S RAID

daybreak until about 4 P. M., the cadets were the only troops on their portion of the line, between the enemy and the Confederate Capital.

The Secretary of War, who had ordered it to be relieved upon learning of Lee's plans, now directed that the Corps of Cadets furnish a strong guard at the railroad depot for the stores and material being hastily loaded for transportation to Lynchburg.*

"We made a rapid march, and, foot-sore, and hip-sore from our heavy cartridge belts, some of us longed to get up behind Colonel Shipp, as he rode along at our head, mounted on his noble stallion, Robin.

"On arriving at Richmond, the fathers of some of the Richmond cadets met us at Rocketts; and, then, we learned for the first time the cause of the cheering, during the morning in the enemy's lines—*Richmond was being evacuated!* We were then marched to General Ewell's headquarters for orders, and thence to the Almshouse, where we were disbanded and directed to escape the best way we could, as in a body we could not reach any organized Confederate field force."**

Numbers of the cadets, however, in groups under various officers of the Institute, proceeded to the canal where such Institute property as it was desired to save was loaded on freight boats, along with the baggage of the cadets. One of these boats which, for lack of an adequate number of barges, had been over-burdened, sank in the canal. But there was no time to waste, and little of the property could be salvaged.

Some of the cadets left Richmond by these boats, or marched in groups westward along the tow-path of the canal, dispersing as they progressed to their own home, or the homes of friends, in the James River country; while many of them continued on their sorrowful way to join Lee's, or Johnston's, Army.

*Rebellion Records, Ibid., p. 1380.
**Col. Smith.

Thus, at Richmond, Sunday evening, April 2, 1865, the Corps of Cadets terminated its service in the Army of the Confederate States of America, having begun it there, April 22, 1861, four years before, almost to the very day. One might say that the Young Guard of Virginia did not abandon the Capital until the overpowering enemy seized it; for, at dawn, April 3d, Weitzel's troops entered Richmond. Among the cadets the cry was *Sauve qui peut!* But the West Point of the Confederacy was still alive, though its embattled walls had fallen, and their tenants had been dispersed; for, struggling onward, clinging to the last hope of the nation, and burning with a resolve to perish, if need be, with honor for their country, were the cadets of former days, leading their weary men to Appomattox and Goldsboro. And in the rear of that army which had shrunken to 8,000 souls, the fame of which is imperishable and unequalled, rode one sent forth from Virginia's School of Arms, upon whom was hung the only hope of Lee himself, as he led the wreck of his once proud army into the Valley of the Shadow of Death.

Great, indeed, had the service of Virginia's military school been, in the struggle of the Southern people for constitutional liberty. But, when her sons surrendered their swords, they had only paid their tribute to Mars. It was in the dark days succeeding that sacrificial offering that their work was seen at its best; for these were citizens, as well as soldiers, and, by the traditions of their military prowess, were only bound the closer in the subsequent struggles of peace. Then, was the full significance of the motto of the Virginia Military Institute perceived—*in pace decus, in bello praesidium;* for, out of the ashes of the empire her sons sought with their swords and blood to found, sprang an exhalted resolve to win even nobler victories than had crowned their arms in war.

In closing this imperfect narrative of their military achievements may the author make bold to inscribe to their memories these lines:

Yon mountain chains may sink to plains,
  All human monuments may fail;
The memory of their deeds shall live—
  Fame's rubric is the deathless tale!
Age after age may come and go,
  Or rule the world an unborn foe,
But still upon the altered shore,
  Of sea-cliffs crumbled into sand,
Some unknown race in pride shall trace
  The story of that youthful band.
Reck not of time. No lapse shall see
A day—not e'en eternity—
When men in passing shall not pause
For inspiration from their cause.

APPENDIX

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APPENDIX A

ROSTER OF THE CADET BATTALION, MAY 11, 1864

Field and Staff

Lieutenant-Colonel Scott Shipp, Commanding.
*Colonel R. L. Madison, Surgeon.
Captain George Ross, Assistant Surgeon.
*Captain J. C. Whitwell, Commissary and Quartermaster.
*Cadet First Lieutenant Cary Weston, Adjutant.
*Cadet Second Lieutenant J. W. Wyatt, Quartermaster.

Non-commissioned Staff

Cadet Sergeant J. E. Woodbridge, Sergeant-Major.
*Cadet Sergeant O. P. Evans, Color-Bearer.
Cadet Sergeant G. A. Davenport, Quartermaster Sergeant.

Musicians

*J. H. Crocken, Fife.
*Richard Staples, Kettle Drum.
*Jacob Marks, Bass Drum.

COMPANY A

Henry A. Wise, Senior Tactical Officer and Captain Commanding.
C. H. Minge, Cadet Captain.
*W. C. Hardy, Cadet First Lieutenant.
*W. A. Morson, Cadet Second Lieutenant.
E. M. Ross, Cadet First Sergeant.
*W. B. Shaw, Cadet Second Sergeant.
*W. T. Duncan, Cadet Third Sergeant.
*J. T. Douglas, Cadet Fourth Sergeant.
Hunter Wood, Cadet Fifth Sergeant.
*Lawrence Royster, Cadet First Corporal.
*G. K. Macon, Cadet Second Corporal.
*R. L. Brockenbrough, Cadet Third Corporal.
*S. F. Atwill, Cadet Fourth Corporal.

*Dead.

PRIVATES

*Adams, R. A.
*Allen, Donald
Anderson, C. J.
*Ashley, C. G.
Bagnall, J. S.
*Binford, R. J.
Bowen, H. C.
*Buster, W. D.
*Butler, W. H.
*Carmichael, John
*Cocke, P. St. G.
*Corling, C. T.
Cousins, R. H.
*Davis, J. A.
*Garrett, H. W.
*Goodykoontz, A. E.
Harrison, C. H.
*Hayes, W. C.
Hiden, P. B.
Hill, J. M.
Howard, J. C.
Hubard, W. J.
James, F. W.
*Larrick, J. S.
*Lewis, W. L.
*McVeigh, Newton
*Mallory, E. S.
*Mead, H. J.
Mohler, D. G.
Morgan, P. H.
*Page, F. W.
*Payne, A. S.
*Pendleton, R. A.
Raum, G. E.
*Seaborn, G. A.
*Skaggs, S. B.
*Smith, E. H.
Smith, Jr., F. L.
Spiller, George
Spiller, W. H.
*Temple, P. C.
Thomson, A. P.
*Watson, W. P.
*White, T. W.
White, W. H.
Wimbish, L. W.
*Wingfield, S. G.
*Wood, H. T.
*Wood, P. S.
Wood, W. M.
*Woodruff, Z. T.
*Yarbrough, W. T.

COMPANY B

*Frank Preston, Tactical Officer and Captain Commanding.
*Carlton Shafer, Cadet Captain.
G. W. Gretter, Cadet First Lieutenant.
*Levi Welch, Cadet Second Lieutenant.
*A. Pizzini, Jr., Cadet First Sergeant.
H. W. Garrow, Cadet Third** Sergeant.
*W. M. Patton, Cadet Fourth Sergeant.
T. G. Hayes, Cadet First Corporal.
*J. B. Jarratt, Cadet Second Corporal.
*Patrick Henry, Cadet Third Corporal.
B. W. Barton, Cadet Fourth Corporal.

*Dead.
**The 2d Sergeant of this Company was O. P. Evans, who was the Color-Bearer at New Market in place of Color-Sergeant W. B. Shaw, absent on Surgeon's certificate.

PRIVATES

*Bayard, N. J.
Bennett, W. G.
*Bowen, W. B.
*Bransford, J. F.
Cabell, R. G.
Carmichael, W. S.
*Christian, E. D.
Clarkson, J. H.
*Cocke, J. L.
*Cocke, W. R. C.
Crank, J. T.
*Cullen, Simon
*Darden, J. D.
*Dillard, J. L.
Faulkner, C. J.
Garrett, V. F.
*Gibson, F. G.
*Grasty, W. C.
Hankins, M. O.
*Happer, R. W. B.
*Harris, W. O.
*Hartsfield, A. C.
Hawks, A. W.
*Haynes, L. C.
*Hundley, C. B.
Hupp, R. C.
*Jefferson, T. G.
Johnson, Porter
*Jones, T. W.
*Kemp, Wyndham
Lee, G. T.
*Leftwich, A. H.
*Lewis, N. C.
McCorkle, J. W.
*McDowell, W. H.
Mason, S. B.
*Patton, J. R.
*Penn, J. G.
*Perry, W. E. S.
*Phillips, S. T.
Powell, J. J. A.
Preston, J. B.
Preston, T. W.
Redwood, W. F.
*Richeson, J. D.
*Roane, John
*Stacker, Clay
*Stanard, J. B.
Tabb, John
*Tackett, J. F.
Tardy, A. H.
Taylor, J. E.
Tunstall, R. B.
*Turner, E. L.
Veitch, Wilberforce
*Walker, C. P.
Washington, Lloyd
Wesson, C. M.
Wharton, J. E.
*White, J. S.
Whitehead, H. C.
*Wilson, R. G.
*Woodlief, P. W.

COMPANY C

A. Govan Hill, Tactical Officer and Captain Commanding.
*S. S. Shriver, Cadet Captain.
T. D. Davis, Cadet First Lieutenant.
*A. Boggess, Cadet Second Lieutenant.
*J. A. Stuart, Cadet First Sergeant.
*L. C. Wise, Cadet Second Sergeant.
*A. F. Redd, Cadet Third Sergeant.
W. B. Martin, Cadet Fourth Sergeant.
*H. H. Dinwiddie, Cadet First Corporal.
*J. E. Wood, Cadet Second Corporal.
J. G. James, Cadet Third Corporal.
*R. Ridley, Cadet Fourth Corporal.

*Dead.

PRIVATES

Adams, S. B.
*Blankman, J. S.
*Blundon, R. M.
Booth, S. W.
Buffington, E. S.
*Chalmers, W. M.
*Crawford, W. B.
*Crichton, J. A.
Davis, A. J.
*Davis, L. S.
*Dunn, J. R.
*Early, J. C.
Ezekiel, M. J.
Fry, H. W.
*Fulton, C. M.
Goode, H. L.
*Goodwin, J. H.
Harrison, W. L.
Jones, W. S.
*Lamb, W. K.
*Langhorne, M. D.
*Lee, R. F.
McGavock, J. W.
Martin, T. S.
Maury, Reuben
*Merritt, J. L.
Minor, J. H.
*Mitchell, S. T.
Morson, A. A.
Morson, J. B.
*Noland, N. B.
Overton, A. W.
*Page, P. N.
*Pendleton, W. W.
Price, F. B.
Randolph, C. C.
*Read, C. H.
*Ricketts, L. C.
Roller, P. W.
Rose, G. M.
*Rutherford, T. M.
*Shields, J. H.
Shriver, T. H.
*Slaughter, W. L.
Smith, C. H.
Smith, W. T.
Tate, C. B.
Taylor, B. D.
*Taylor, Carrington
*Taylor, W. C.
*Thompson, K.
*Tomes, F. J.
*Toms, A. C.
*Turner, C. W.
Upshur, J. N.
*Walker, C. D.
Waller, R. E.
Walton, N. T.
*Wheelwright, J. C.
*Wilson, D. C. B.
(Afterwards D. C. Barroud)

COMPANY D

*Thomas B. Robinson, Tactical Officer and Captain Commanding.
B. A. Colonna, Cadet Captain.
*J. F. Hanna, Cadet First Lieutenant.
F. W. Claybrook, Cadet Second Lieutenant.
*W. H. Cabell, Cadet First Sergeant.
*William Nelson, Cadet Second Sergeant.
*J. R. Echols, Cadet Third Sergeant.
C. M. Etheredge, Cadet Fourth Sergeant.
O. A. Glazebrook, Cadet First Corporal.
*Alfred Marshall, Cadet Second Corporal.
*John S. Wise, Cadet Third Corporal.
*J. R. Triplett, Cadet Fourth Corporal.

*Dead.

PRIVATES

*Akers, R. C.
Alexander, W. K.
Arbuckle, A. A.
*Barney, W. H.
Baylor, J. B.
*Beattie, W. F.
*Berkeley, Edmund
*Brown, J. A.
*Clark, G. B.
*Clendinen, T. R.
Cocke, Preston
Coleman, J. J.
*Corbin, J. P.
*Crenshaw, S. D.
*Crews, B. S.
*Crockett, C. G.
*Crockett, H. S.
Dickinson, J. I.
*Dillard, William
Eubank, W. M.
*Garnett, G. T.
Gray, J. B.
*Hamlin, E. L.
*Hannah, J. S.
Harvie, J. B.
Harvie, J. S.
Horsley, John
*Imboden, J. P.
*Johnson, F. S.
*Jones, H. J.
*Kennedy, W. H.
*King, D. P.
Kirk, W. M.
*Knight, E. C.
Lee, F. T.
Letcher, S. H.
*Locke, R. N.
*Lowry, T. S.
Lumsden, W. J.
McClung, T. W.
*Marks, C. H.
*Marshall, Martin
*Moorman, E. S.
Nalle, G. B. W.
Phelps, T. K.
*Peirce, D. S.
*Radford, W. N.
*Reid, J. J.
*Reveley, G. F.
Sowers, J. F.
*Stuart, Jr., A. H. H.
*Tunstall, J. L.
Tutwiler, E. M.
Venable, W. L.
*Ward, G. W.
Webb, J. S.
*Wellford, C. E.
*White, R. J.
Witt, J. E.
Wood, M. B.

CASUALTIES

KILLED

Cadet W. H. Cabell, Va., 2d Class, 1st Sergeant, D Company.
Cadet C. G. Crockett, Va., 4th Class, Private, D Company.
Cadet H. J. Jones, Va., 4th Class, Private, D Company.
Cadet W. H. McDowell, N. C., 4th Class, Private, B Company.
Cadet J. B. Stanard, Va., 4th Class, Private, B Company.

MORTALLY WOUNDED

Cadet S. F. Atwill, Va., 3d Class, Corporal, A Company.
Cadet T. G. Jefferson, Va., 4th Class, Private, B Company.

*Dead.

Cadet L. C. Haynes, Va., 4th Class, Private, B Company.*
Cadet J. C. Wheelwright, Va., 4th Class, Private, C Company.

WOUNDED

Lieutenant-Colonel Scott Shipp, Commanding Battalion of Cadets.
Captain A. G. Hill, Tactical Officer, Commanding C Company.
Cadet S. S. Shriver, Va., 1st Class, Cadet Captain, C Company.
Cadet Andrew Pizzini, Jr., Va., 2d Class, 1st Sergeant, B Company.
Cadet J. A. Stuart, Va., 2d Class, 1st Sergeant, C Company.
Cadet L. C. Wise, Va., 2d Class, Sergeant, C Company.
Cadet H. W. Garrow, Ala., 2d Class, Sergeant, B Company.
Cadet G. K. Macon, Va., 3d Class, Corporal, A Company.
Cadet J. R. Triplett, Va., 3d Class, Corporal, D Company.
Cadet J. S. Wise, Va., 3d Class, Corporal, D Company.
Cadet Edmund Berkley, Va., 4th Class, Private, D Company.
Cadet J. F. Bransford, Va., 4th Class, Private, B Company.
Cadet W. D. Buster, Va., 3d Class, Private, A Company.
Cadet E. D. Christian, Va., 4th Class, Private, B Company.
Cadet Preston Cocke, Va., 4th Class, Private, D Company.
Cadet C. T. Corling, Va., 4th Class, Private, A Company.
Cadet J. D. Darden, Va., 4th Class, Private, B Company.
Cadet J. I. Dickinson, Va., 4th Class, Private, D Company.
Cadet William Dillard, Va., 4th Class, Private, D Company.
Cadet G. T. Garnett, Va., 4th Class, Private, D Company.
Cadet F. G. Gibson, W. Va., 4th Class, Private, B Company.
Cadet J. H. Goodwin, Va., 4th Class, Private, C Company.
Cadet W. O. Harris, Va., 4th Class, Private, B Company.
Cadet C. H. Harrison, Va., 4th Class, Private, A Company.
Cadet A. C. Hartsfield, N. C., 3d Class, Private, B Company.
Cadet J. C. Howard, Va., 4th Class, Private, A Company.
Cadet J. P. Imboden, Va., 4th Class, Private, D Company.
Cadet Porter Johnson, W. Va., 4th Class, Private, B Company.
Cadet W. S. Jones, Va., 4th Class, Private, C Company.
Cadet Martin Marshall, Miss., 4th Class, Private, D Company.
Cadet H. J. Mead, Va., 3d Class, Private, A Company.
Cadet J. L. Merritt, Va., 4th Class, Private, C Company.
Cadet E. S. Moorman, Va., 4th Class, Private, D Company.
Cadet R. A. Pendleton, Va., 4th Class, Private, A Company.
Cadet S. T. Phillips, Va., 4th Class, Private, B Company.
Cadet D. S. Peirce, Va., 3d Class, Private, D Company.
Cadet C. C. Randolph, Va., 4th Class, Private, C Company.
Cadet C. H. Read, Jr., Va., 4th Class, Private, C Company.
Cadet C. H. Smith, Va., 4th Class, Private, C Company.
Cadet E. H. Smith, Va., 4th Class, Private, A Company.
Cadet F. L. Smith, Jr., Va., 4th Class, Private, A Company.

*Died of wounds one month after the battle.

Cadet George Spiller, Va., 3d Class, Private, A Company.
Cadet J. N. Upshur, Va., 4th Class, Private, C Company.
Cadet C. D. Walker, Va., 4th Class, Private, C Company.
Cadet W. P. Watson, N. C., 4th Class, Private, A Company.
Cadet T. W. White, Va., 4th Class, Private, D Company.
Cadet H. C. Whitehead, Va., 3d Class, Private, B Company.
Cadet P. W. Woodlief, Jr., La., 4th Class, Private, B Company.

RECAPITULATION

Killed	5
Mortally wounded	4
Wounded	48*
	57
Estimated strength of Battalion at New Market	279
Loss in battle	57
Percentage of loss	20 P. C.

*Some of these were crippled for life, notably Martin Marshall, T. W. White, F. G. Gibson, C. C. Randolph, and C. D. Walker.

APPENDIX B

THE V. M. I. CONFEDERATE MARTYR-ROLL

In 1875, the Rev. Charles D. Walker of blessed memory, "First Honor" graduate of the Class of 1869, published his "Memorial—Virginia Military Institute." It is a monument to his zeal and devotion, and has been most valuable; but, unfortunately, it is neither complete nor accurate.

When this work was begun, Mr. Walker was an assistant professor at the Institute, and it was finished while he was prosecuting his theological studies; and during those four years he was never able to give his entire time to the work, having other important duties to claim his paramount attention.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the work fails to include *all the Alumni* of the Institute who gave their lives for Southern Independence, nor that it contains many errors. It is cause for rejoicing, however, that we have at last a roster of our Sainted Confederate Dead that is as perfect as human means can make it.

In the preparation of the personal histories of all the Sons of the Institute from its founding to the present time, our Official Historiographer has given his undivided time to the important work, and he has thus been enabled to perfect our Necrology during the great Confederate War.

Walker's "Memorial" contains sketches of 164 persons supposed to have been killed, or to have died of disease, in the military service of the Southern Confederacy, who were Alumni of the Virginia Military Institute. From this number must be deducted one who was not a cadet, and two who did not die during the War, or from the effects of the War. The number is thus reduced to 161. *Eighty-eight more* Alumni have been discovered who were killed, or who died from the effects of the military service, and are to be added to this number, making the total mortality resulting from the War, TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-NINE!

There are only *seventy* matriculates from 1839 to 1865 whose war record is still unknown; and when these records are all in hand, it may be that this number will be slightly increased. But, as it is, we have a Martyr-Roll of Two Hundred and Forty-Nine (249), and it is given here.

JOSEPH R. ANDERSON,
Lieutenant-Colonel V. M. I.,
Official Historiographer.

VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE ALUMNI KILLED, OR DIED IN SERVICE, CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA

ABELL, WILLIAM MCLEOD, from Charlottesville, Va. Courier, Co. I, 5th Va. Cavalry. Died September 26, 1864, of wound received the day before.

ADIE, LEWIS BENJAMIN, from Leesburg, Va. Private, Mosby's Battalion. Killed about middle August, 1864, near Berryville, Va.

ALEXANDER, THOMAS, from Northumberland County, Va. 1st Lieutenant, Co. C, 40th Va. Infantry. Killed August 18, 1864, at Petersburg, while leading his company.

ALLEN, JAMES WALKINSHAW, from Bedford County, Va. Colonel, 2d Va. Infantry. Killed at Gaines's Mill, June 27, 1862.

ALLEN, ROBERT CLOTWORTHY (brother of the above), from Salem, Va. Colonel, 28th Va. Infantry. Killed at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863.

(A third brother, DONALD ALLEN, was a gallant member of the New Market Battalion.)

ANTHONY, ROBERT IRVINE, from Alleghany County, Va. Ord. Sergeant, Carpenter's Battery. Died of wound received at Winchester, four days afterwards, September 13, 1864.

ARMISTEAD, JOHN SINCLAIR, from Elizabeth City County, Va. Lieutenant, C. S. Engineers. Died in service, April 3, 1862.

ASHBY, JAMES LEWIS, from Warren County, Va. Private, Co. D, 6th Va. Cavalry. Killed June 11, 1864, at Trevilians, Va.

ASHBY, JOHN WILLIAM (brother of the above), from Warren County, Va. Private, Co. I, 12th Va. Cavalry. Killed two hours before the Surrender at Appomattox.

ASHBY, RICHARD (younger brother of General Turner Ashby), from Fauquier County, Va. Captain, Co. A, 7th Va. Cavalry. Killed July 3, 1861, near Romney, W. Va.

ATWILL, SAMUEL FRANCIS, from Westmoreland County, Va. Corporal, Co. A, Corps Cadets. Killed at New Market, May 15, 1864.

BANKS, THOMAS WILLIAM, from Gloucester County, Va. Private, Co. A, 35th Va. Infantry. Died in prison, about June 20, 1865, of brain fever, due to grief over the downfall of the Confederacy.

BARTON, CHARLES MARSHALL (one of five brothers in the C. S. A., three of whom were cadets), from Winchester, Va. 1st Lieutenant, Cutshaw's Battery. Killed May 25, 1862, at Winchester.

BEASLEY, PETER "R", from Huntsville, Ala. 1st Lieutenant, 35th Alabama Infantry. Mortally wounded and died July 12, 1864, near Marietta, Ga.

BENBURY, RICHARD B——, from Gatesville, N. C. Private, ——— N. C. Regiment. Died of disease contracted in the military service, September —, 1863.

BETHEA, THEODORE, from Montgomery, Ala. Lieutenant, Co. E, commanding Lockhart's Battalion, Alabama Volunteers. Killed July 18, 1864, in fight with raiding force, on Montgomery & West Point R. R. (His father's four sons were gallant soldiers, and his two daughters "knitted socks.")

BIBB, FRANK STROTHER, from Charlottesville, Va. 1st Lieutenant, Carrington's Battery. Died May 28, 1863, from wound received at Chancellorsville.

BISHOP, BENJ. FRANKLIN, from Surry County, Va. Captain on Staff of General Wright. Died January 5, 1878, from the effects of military service.

BLAKEY, JOHN W., from Greene County, Va. Private, Captain Bass's Company, from Richmond. Died in hospital at Petersburg, March 17, 1864, from disease contracted in the military service.

BOTTS, LAWSON, from Charles Town, W. Va. Colonel, 2d Va. Infantry. Died of wounds received at Second Manassas, on September 16, 1862. (Appointed by the Court to defend John Brown, at Harper's Ferry.)

BOWE, NATHANIEL CRENSHAW, from Richmond, Va. Private, V. M. I. Corps Cadets. Died August, 1865, from disease contracted in the military service.

BRADLEY, RANDOLPH, from Missouri. (Formerly from Page County, Va.) Captain, 14th La. Infantry. Died June 28, 1862, from wound received the day before in battles around Richmond. (Promoted captain on the field, at Seven Pines.)

BRAY, WILLIAM HARVIE, from Essex County, Va. 1st Lieutenant, 53d Va. Infantry. Killed at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863.

BRECKINRIDGE, JAMES, from Botetourt County, Va. Captain, Co. C, 2d Va. Cavalry. Killed at Five Forks, April 1, 1865.

BRECKINRIDGE, PEACHY GILMER (these were two of five brothers in the C. S. A., four of whom were cadets), from Botetourt County, Va. Captain, Co. B, 2d Va. Cavalry. Killed May 24, 1864, at Kennon's Landing, Va.

BRENT, VIRGINIUS KING, from Fauquier County, Va. Private. "Old Dominion Rifles," Co. D, from Alexandria, Va. Wounded at Frazier's Farm, and died from effects in 1868.

BURGESS, ALEX. ARMISTEAD, from Rappahannock County, Va. Private, 1st Va. Infantry. Killed May 31, 1862, at Seven Pines.

*BURGWYN, HENRY KING, JR., from Northampton County, N. C. Colonel, 26th N. C. Infantry. Killed at Gettysburg, July 1, 1863.

*Colonel Fox, the compiler of casualty statistics (on both sides) of the battle of Gettysburg, states that the percentage of loss in this regiment was the greatest known in any battle of modern times—something like 87 to 89 percentum. The regiment carried 800 into battle on July 2d, and came out with 216, all told, unhurt, and after the third day's battle, it had only *eighty* men fit for duty.

BURKE, JOHN WALLER, from Hanover County, Va. Sergeant, King William Artillery. Killed at Spottsylvania, May 12, 1864.

BURKE, THOMAS MUNDIE, from Essex County, Va. Major, 55th Va. Infantry. Killed, Frazier's Farm, June 30, 1862.

BUSTER, WILLIAM DENNIS, from Charlotte County, Va. Private, V. M. I. Corps Cadets. Died about the time of the evacuation of Richmond, of fever contracted in the trenches around Richmond, while serving with the Battalion of Cadets.

CABELL, WILLIAM HENRY, from Richmond, Va. Ord. Sergeant, Co. D, Corps Cadets. Killed at New Market, May 15, 1864.

CALLCOTE, ALEX. DANIEL (this name has been variously spelled, but this is the correct spelling, as certified by himself), from Isle of Wight County, Va. Lieutenant-Colonel, 3d Va. Infantry. Killed at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863.

CARPENTER, JOSEPH HANNAH, from Alleghany County, Va. Captain, Carpenter's Battery. Died February 5, 1863, of wound received at Slaughter's Mountain, in August, 1862.

CARRINGTON, ABRAM CABELL, from Charlotte County, Va. 1st Lieutenant, Co. D, 18th Va. Infantry. Killed, Malvern Hill, June 30, 1862.

CARTER, JAMES PITMAN, from Frederick County, Va. Private, 7th Va. Cavalry. Killed, Spottsylvania Courthouse, May 5, 1864.

CHENOWETH, JOSEPH HART, from Beverly, W. Va. Major, 31st Va. Infantry. Killed, June 9, 1862, at Port Republic.

CLAIBORNE, THOMAS DODDRIDGE, from Pittsylvania County, Va. Lieutenant-Colonel, 7th Confederate Cavalry. Wounded at Petersburg, and died December 29, 1864.

CHERRY, JOSEPH BLOUNT, from Bertie County, N. C. Captain, Co. F, 4th N. C. Cavalry. Wounded near Petersburg, March 29th, and died four days afterwards, April 2, 1865.

CLOPTON, ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, from Richmond, Va. Adjutant, 34th N. C. Infantry. Died of typhoid fever contracted in the military service, September 9, 1864.

COLSTON, RALEIGH THOMAS, from Berkeley County, W. Va. Lieutenant-Colonel, 2d Va. Infantry. Died of wound received near Mine Run, Va., November 27, 1863.

COWHERD, CHARLES SCOTT, from Orange County, Va. Private, "Gordonsville Grays," 13th Va. Infantry. Died of camp fever, January 3, 1862.

CRAWFORD, ROBERT ANDERSON, from Augusta County, Va. Captain on Staff of General W. L. Jackson. Wounded at Dump Mountain. Died at McDowell, April 26, 1864.

CONNOR, ALEX. SIMONTON, from Bladen Springs, Ala. C. S. A. (command unknown). Died in 1869 from disease contracted in the Army.

CRITTENDEN, LEWELLYN, from Lancaster County, Va. Lieutenant, Co. E, 40th Va. Infantry. Wounded at Frazier's Farm, June 30, 1862, and died the following Wednesday.

CROCKETT, CHARLES GAY, from Wytheville, Va. Private, Co. B, Corps Cadets. Killed at New Market, May 15, 1864.

CRUMP, CHARLES A——, from Powhatan County, Va. Colonel, 16th Va. Infantry. Killed, Gainesville, August 30, 1862.

CRUTCHFIELD, STAPLETON, from Spottsylvania County, Va. Colonel and Chief of Artillery, 2d Corps, Army N. Va. Killed April 6, 1865, at Sailor's Creek, while commanding a brigade.

CURRY, EUGENIA GRANVILLE, from Augusta County, Va. Sergeant and Drillmaster, 52d Va. Infantry. Died November 6, 1861, of typhoid pneumonia contracted in the military service.

DABNEY, BASIL GORDON, from Albemarle County, Va. Private, Thomson's Horse Artillery. Wounded near Farmville, April 6, 1865, and died same day, from carelessness of surgeon in amputating leg.

DABNEY, EDWARD MOON, from Albemarle County, Va. Captain, Co. C, 52d Va. Infantry. Mortally wounded at Fredericksburg, and died December 28, 1862, ten days afterwards.

DANIEL, WILLIAM ANDERSON, from Cumberland County, Va. Private, C. S. Cavalry. Died of pneumonia in the military service, April 5, 1863.

DAVIDSON, ALBERT (one of five brothers in C. S. A., three of whom were cadets, and three of whom were killed), from Lexington, Va. 1st Lieut. and A. A.-G. Wounded April 9th, and died May 6, 1865.

DAVIS, JAMES LUCIUS, JR., from Henrico County, Va. Private, 10th Va. Cavalry (commanded by his father). Killed June 24, 1864, near Samaria Church, Va.

DAVIS, THOMAS BOWKER, from Lynchburg, Va. 2d Lieutenant, Co. D, 2d Va. Cavalry. Mortally wounded near Fisher's Hill, and died a prisoner at Winchester, October 20, 1864.

DERBY, REV. CHARLES A., from Dinwiddie County, Va. Colonel, 44th Ala. Infantry. Killed at Sharpsburg, September 17, 1862.

DEW, DANIEL BOONE, from King and Queen County, Va. Private, 9th Va. Cavalry. Killed in June, 1863, near Middletown, Va., before he reached his regiment to report for duty.

DEYERLE, MADISON PITZER (an older brother graduated at V. M. I., in 1842, and died while assistant surgeon in U. S. Army, in 1853; two other brothers were soldiers in the C. S. A.), from Roanoke County, Va. Captain, Co. I, 28th Va. Infantry. Mortally wounded at Williamsburg, and died May 14, 1862.

DOVE, LESLIE CHAMBLISS, from Richmond, Va. Courier on Staff of General J. R. Chambliss. Died from wound July 12, 1863, near Hagerstown, Md.

DUDLEY, THOMAS CLIFFORD, from King and Queen County, Va. 2d Lieutenant, P. A., C. S. A. (on recommendation of Major Pelham in whose battery he had previously served). Wounded June 11, 1864, at Trevilians, and died July 9, 1864.

EASLEY, WILLIAM H., from Halifax County, Va. Captain, Co. C, 3d Va. Cavalry. Died from disease contracted in the Army, December 11, 1861.

EASTHAM, GEORGE LAWSON, from Rappahannock County, Va. Private, 6th Va. Cavalry. Killed at Toms Brook, Va., October 9, 1864.

*EDMONDS, EDWARD CLAXTON, from Fauquier County, Va. Colonel, 38th Va. Infantry. Killed at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863. (One of seven colonels who fell at Gettysburg who had been comrades at the V. M. I., and three of them roommates.)

EDMONDSON, HOWELL CHASTAIN, from Halifax County, Va. Private, 1st Richmond Howitzers. Died June 24, 1864, from typhoid fever contracted in the service.

**ELLIS, JOHN THOMAS, from Amherst County, Va. Lieutenant-Colonel, 19th Va. Infantry. Killed at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863.

EPPES, PETER FRANCISCO, from Sussex County, Va. C. S. A. (command not known). Died in hospital after the War, from effects of his military service.

EVINS, JAMES SELWYN, from Perry County, Ala. Lieutenant, 4th Ala. Infantry. Died in the military service, March 9, 1862.

FANT, EDWARD LEWIS, from Fauquier County, Va. Lieutenant, 8th Va. Infantry. Killed at Gaines's Mill, June, 1862.

FLETCHER, JOHN, from Fauquier County, Va. Captain, Co. A, 7th Va. Cavalry. Killed at Buckton Station, Va., May 23, 1862.

FORBES, JAMES FITZGERALD, from Spottsylvania County, Va. Captain and Q. M., 9th Va. Cavalry, and acting as Aide to General Jackson, when mortally wounded at Chancellorsville. He fell about the same time General Jackson was wounded. He was carried to the home of Mr. Melzi Chancellor. Soon afterwards, a Federal officer mortally wounded was brought in and laid on the floor. At this extreme moment, illustrating the keynote of his whole life, he requested that he be placed on the bed by his side. Shortly afterwards, both died.

FORBES, WILLIAM ARCHIBALD, from Richmond, Va., later from Clarksville, Tenn. Colonel, 14th Tenn. Infantry. Killed at Second Manassas (having been previously wounded at Mechanicsville and Cold Harbor).

FORD, CHARLES EDWARD, from Fairfax County, Va. 1st Lieutenant, Stuart Horse Artillery. Killed at Hanover C. H., May 25, 1864.

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*In the campaign of 1863 Col. Edmonds commanded his brigade. After the battle of Gettysburg, a petition, signed by every officer present in the brigade, was forwarded to the Secretary of War, asking that Colonel Edmonds be appointed their brigadier as soon as exchanged (for a report had reached them that he was a prisoner of War). But alas, he had fallen with Armistead, his immortal commander! (Colonel Edmond's two younger brothers were also cadets, and one of them was Colonel of the 4th Texas Regiment in the Spanish-American War).

**After the battle of Williamsburg, his division commander, Major-General Pickett, always spoke of him as "one who can always be relied upon."

FOWLKES, EUSEBIUS, M. D., from Montgomery County, Va. Captain, Co. F, 11th Va. Infantry. Killed at Seven Pines, May 31, 1862.

FRAZER, PHILIP FOUKE, from Lewisburg, W. Va. Lieutenant-Colonel, 27th Va. Infantry. Killed at The Wilderness, May 6, 1864.

GAINES, LEWIS CONNER, from Culpeper County, Va. Private, 9th Va. Cavalry. Mortally wounded near Ashland, Va., and died July 8, 1864.

GALT, WILLIAM, from Fluvanna County, Va. Adjutant, 52d Va. Infantry. Wounded September 19th at Winchester, and died October 6, 1864. (Standing over his dead body, his surgeon said, "He was worth to the Army a hundred men.")

GARLAND, SAMUEL, JR., from Lynchburg, Va. Brigadier-General in D. H. Hill's Division, Army N. Virginia. Killed near Boonsboro, Md., September 14, 1862. His last words: "I am killed; send for the senior colonel, and tell him to take command."

GARNETT, THOMAS STUART, M. D., from Westmoreland County, Va. Colonel, 48th Va. Infantry. Mortally wounded at Chancellorsville while heroically leading the 2d Brigade of the "Stonewall Division," and died the next day. His sister stated that his commission as brigadier-general was received as he lay dead, wrapped in the Confederate flag, in the Capitol at Richmond. (He had previously served as a gallant lieutenant in the Mexican War.)

GAY, CHARLES WYNDHAM, from Staunton, Va. Private, Danville Artillery (Capt. Wooding). Killed at Malvern Hill, July 1, 1862.

GIBBONS, SIMEON BEAUFORD, from Page County, Va. Colonel, 10th Va. Infantry. Killed at McDowell, May 8, 1862. (Two younger brothers, both V. M. I. Alumni, were also in C. S. A.)

GIBBS, JOHN TRACY, JR., from Lexington, Va. Corporal, Rockbridge Artillery. Died from exposure and fatigue, September 6, 1864. (Son of Capt. John T. Gibbs, Commissary, V. M. I.)

GISINER, JOHN TIMOTHY DWIGHT, from Rockbridge County, Va. Private, V. M. I. Corps Cadets. Died from disease contracted in the McDowell campaign.

GOODE, EDMUND, from Bedford County, Va. Colonel, 58th Va. Infantry. Died from exposure to the rigors of a winter's campaign in the mountains of Virginia, March, 1862.

GRANDY, PATRICK HENRY, from Norfolk, Va. 1st Lieutenant, Co. D, 1st N. C. Infantry. Killed at Gaines's Mill, June 27, 1862.

GRAYSON, RICHARD OSBORNE, from Loudoun County, Va. Lieutenant, Co. F, 8th Va. Infantry. Killed Gaines's Mill, June 27, 1862.

GREEN, WILLIAM JAMES, from Stafford County, Va. (One of three brothers, cadets of the V. M. I., all in C. S. A.) Lieutenant-Colonel, 47th Va. Infantry. Killed at Cold Harbor, June 27, 1862. (He had but a few hours before expressed a hope that he might fall as became his lineage. He received two balls, one through the heart and the other through the stomach.)

GRIGG, FRANCIS G——, from Greensville County, Va. Private, Co. H, 18th Va. Cavalry. Died March 8, 1865, a few days after returning from prison at Point Lookout, of disease contracted there.

GRIGG, WESLEY PEYTON, from Petersburg, Va. Sergeant, Martin's Battery. Died October 15, 1875, from disease contracted in the military service.

HADEN, ANSELM HENRY, from Fincastle, Va. Lieutenant (command not known). Died in the military service, September 29, 1861.

HADEN, JOEL WATKINS (brother of the above), from Fincastle, Va. Adjutant, 7th Va. Cavalry. Died of wounds, November 19, 1864.

HAIGH, CHARLES THOMAS, from Fayetteville, N. C. Lieutenant, Co. B, 37th N. C. Infantry. Killed at Spottsylvania C. H., May 12, 1864. After the battle of Gettysburg, his father permitted him to resign his cadetship; and, though exempt by law, owing to his youthfulness, he thought it was every boy's duty to go to the front. He said to his cadet comrades: "Of what use will an education be, after we have been conquered. Boys, we must all join the Army; our country needs us. For my part, I can not stay here longer." He immediately resigned, and enlisted as a private, but was soon promoted, and, in less than ten months, sealed his devotion on the bloody field of Spottsylvania, crying: "Charge, boys, charge; the battery is ours." His brigade commander, General Lane, in general orders, said: "Lieutenant Haigh was among the foremost in the charge upon the battery, and won the admiration of all who saw him."

*HAIRSTON, JOHN ADAMS, from Henry County, Va. Private, 24th Va. Infantry. Killed at the battle of Williamsburg, May 5, 1862.

**HALCOMB, THOMAS HENRY, from Marengo County, Ala. (Formerly of Mecklenburg County, Va.) Captain, Co. A, 11th Ala. Infantry. Killed at Frazier's Farm, June, 1862.

*Confederate surgeons left with the wounded reported that Generals McClellan and Hancock said this regiment and the 5th North Carolina Infantry (both of Early's Brigade) deserved to have the word "immortal" inscribed on their flags.

**He lost the index finger of his right hand in the battle of Seven Pines; but, nothing daunted, he led his regiment in the bloody battle of Frazier's Farm, thirty days afterwards, and fell in the successful assult on a 16 gun battery. He was first lieutenant at Seven Pines and was promoted immediately afterwards.

HAMBRICK, JOSEPH ADAM, from Franklin County, Va. Major, 24th Va. Infantry. Mortally wounded May 16th at Drewry's Bluff, and died May 29, 1864.

HAMMET, WILLIAM RICHARD (aged 19), from Montgomery County, Va. (One of three cadet brothers who were gallant Confederate officers.) Captain, Co. I, Colonel Henry Edmondson's Regiment of Infantry from Montgomery County, Va. Died in prison, June 30, 1865.

HAMMOND, GEORGE NEWKIRK, from Berkeley County, W. Va. Captain, Co. B, 1st Va. Cavalry. Died May 16, 1864, of wound received near Richmond.

HANNAH, JOEL MORTON, from Charlotte County, Va. Private, V. M. I. Corps Cadets. Died April 17, 1865, from exposure in the trenches around Richmond, while serving with the Battalion of Cadets.

HARDY, JULIAN BREEDLOVE, from New Orleans, La. 2d Lieutenant, Crescent (La.) Regiment Infantry. Killed at Murfreesboro, Tenn., January 20, 1862. (A younger cadet brother survived the War.)

HARMAN, THOMAS LEWIS, from Staunton, Va. 1st Lieutenant, Staunton (Va.) Artillery. Died of fever in the military service, September 15, 1861.

HARRISON, CARTER HENRY, from Cumberland County, Va. Major, 11th Va. Infantry. Killed at the battle of Bull Run, July 18, 1861. This noble Christian soldier wrote a few days before he was killed: "I desire to place myself entirely at the disposal of my Heavenly Father, knowing that if the first bullet I hear reaches my own body, or if, on the other hand, I should return home without seeing the flash of a gun, it will all be best for me in time, and best for me in eternity." And two days later: "I shall put my sword, etc., all in readiness before going to bed, and commit myself and all my dear ones to the care of Him 'without whom not a sparrow falleth to the ground.'" His son and grandson have followed him at the V. M. I.

HART, T—— GOODWIN, from Warrenton, Va. Sergeant-Major, 17th Va. Infantry. Mortally wounded at the battle of Drewry's Bluff, May 12-16, 1864, and died two weeks later, at Chimborazo Hospital, Richmond, Va.

HARTSFIELD, ALVA CURTIS, from Wake County, N. C. Private, Corps Cadets. Died June 26, 1864. He fought bravely at New Market, and afterwards went with the Corps to the vicinity of Richmond. While in camp there he was taken ill and carried to a hospital. Evincing a great desire to go to his home, he was allowed a furlough. He attempted to walk from Richmond to Petersburg, and fell by the wayside exhausted, and remained there until discovered by a passer-by. He was carried to the hospital in Petersburg, and tenderly nursed, but,

after lingering for several days, died from a relapse from measles.

HAYNES, LUTHER CARY, from Essex County, Va. Private, Corps Cadets. Mortally wounded at New Market, May 15, 1864, and died one month afterwards at St. Charles Hotel Hospital, Richmond, Va.

HELM, R—— HENRY, from Fauquier County, Va. Private, Black Horse Cavalry. Wounded at Trevilians, June 11, 1864, and died from maltreatment of surgeon in delaying the amputation of his leg.

HETH, JOHN, from Powhatan County, Va. 2d Lieutenant, 1st Va. (Irish) Battalion Infantry. Mortally wounded at battle of Kernstown, and died soon afterwards.

HILL, JOHN WESLEY, from Rappahannock County, Va. Lieutenant (command not known). Killed at Gettysburg.

HOPKINS, SAMUEL COFFMAN, from Rockingham County, Va. Private, McNeill's Rangers. Died just after returning from prison, March 31, 1864.

HUNTER, HENRY WOODIS, from Norfolk, Va. 2d Lieutenant, C. S. Ordnance. Died in the military service, January 15, 1862. His commander, Col. Briscoe G. Baldwin, said in his official announcement of his death: "Lieut. Hunter, by his amiability, intelligence, and gentlemanly deportment, had endeared himself to very person connected with the post. He was a most promising young officer. I have lost a noble comrade, the service a gallant soldier."

IRVINE, ALEXANDER J——, from Bedford County, Va. Corporal, Co. G, 2d Va. Cavalry. Killed at 1st Manassas, July 21, 1861.

*JACKSON, ALFRED EUGENE, from Washington County, Tenn. Adjutant, 29th Tenn. Infantry. Died from disease contracted in the military service, March 6, 1862.

JAMESON, JAMES H——, from Culpeper County, Va. Captain, ——— Va. Infantry. Was seriously wounded at Drainsville, and captured. After a long imprisonment in 1863, died in Richmond, in 1864, on his way home.

**JARRELL, THOMAS GEORGE, from Mercer County, W. Va. Lieutenant, Co. B, 36th Va. Infantry. Killed June 5, 1864.

*His ancestors both paternal and maternal held conspicuous positions in the Army of their country, both in the Revolution and in the War of 1812. In the battle of Fishing Creek, Kentucky, he commanded his regiment, having his horse killed under him.

**Throughout the campaign in Northwestern Virginia, he behaved with distinguished gallantry, being severely wounded in the battle of Fayetteville, but remained on the field until the enemy was put to flight. At the battle of Piedmont, on the 5th of June, 1864, after the brave General Jones was killed, and the enemy was breaking through our lines in all directions, Lieutenant Jarrell, rallying his company, covered the retreat across the river. This little band, by their determined resistance, checked the advance of the enemy until a crossing had been effected. To accomplish this, however, most of the company were captured, or killed, among the latter, Lieutenant Jarrell, shot dead on the field. He fell with his face to the foe, his name on the lips of many who by his bravery that day had escaped capture, or death, themselves.

JEFFERSON, MONROE GARLAND, from Amelia County, Va. Private, Co. B, Corps Cadets. Killed at New Market, May 15, 1864.

JOHNSTON, PEYTON, JR., from Richmond, Va. 2d Lieutenant, Richmond Fayette Artillery. Killed at 2d Cold Harbor, June 12, 1864. (A younger brother graduated at the V. M. I., and became a very distinguished electrical engineer, and built the first electric railway in the world, at Richmond, Va.)

*JONES, EDWARD POPE, M. D., from Middlesex County, Va. Colonel of Va. Militia. Captured and imprisoned at Fort Delaware, and while a prisoner was murdered by his guard in 1864.

**JONES, FRANCIS BUCKNER, from Frederick County, Va. Major, 2d Va. Infantry. Lost a leg at Cold Harbor, June 27, 1862, and died in Richmond, July 9, 1862.

JONES, HENRY JENNER, from King William County, Va. Private, Co. D, Corps Cadets. Killed at New Market, May 15, 1864.

JONES, WILLIAM DAVID, from Rockbridge County, Va. Surgeon, C. S. A. Died in service, 1862.

JORDON, HARRY E——, from Richmond, Va. Private, "Liberty Hall Volunteers." Later transferred to a North Carolina Regiment. Died of wounds received in battle, June 15, 1864.

KEELING, ROBERT H——, from Richmond, Va. Captain, 13th Ala. Infantry. Killed at Seven Pines, May 31, 1862, while acting colonel.

†KEITER, WILLIAM, from Hampshire County, W. Va. Captain, Tenn. Heavy Artillery. Killed by the bursting of the big gun, "The Lady Polk," at Fort DeRussey, near Columbus, Ky., November 8, 1861.

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*At the organization of one of the first companies in his county, Colonel Jones had become a member, but had withdrawn, and was, in May, 1863, still holding his commission of colonel of the Middlesex Militia. At that time Kilpatrick made a raid through the county. Col. Jones endeavored to raise a force to oppose the enemy, but could get together in the hurry only about 30 old men who were utterly undisciplined and poorly armed. He, therefore, abandoned his purpose, and went to a neighbor's residence where that night he was captured by the enemy and sent to Johnson's Island, and thence to Fort Delaware. The late gallant Lieutenant-Colonel (Dr.) William S. Christian of the 55th Virginia Infantry, was a fellow prisoner with him at Johnson's Island for a while, before his own removal to another prison, and he related the following account of his murder, as given by Captain Shelton, an eye-witness. Colonel Jones was very lame and required assistance in walking. Returning from the "sinks" with the aid of Captain Shelton, one day in 1864, the sentinel ordered him to walk faster. "This man is lame and can not walk faster," said Shelton. The sentinel then ordered Shelton to "let him go," adding, "He has to walk faster, or he will not walk any more," and then commanded Shelton to "step aside," and immediately fired at Jones, some yards away, with his side turned toward him. The ball broke his arm and went through his body. He died some hours afterward; and it was said this sentinel was promoted first sergeant for such an heroic act as "killing a rebel." Colonel Christian said he knew these facts to be true. (See "Rebellion Records.")

**His biographer said of this gallant officer and godly man,—"Duty to God and man,—the discharge of conscientious Christian duty, was the pole-star towards which all his efforts tended, and on which the whole action of his life was based.

. . . . . .

He suffered and died with the self-abnegation of a martyr, and the unflinching courage and calm composure of a Christian hero and soldier."

†Various accounts by eye-witnesses have been given of this incident, but these seem to be the facts: The big gun was an 8-ton rifled Columbia and carried a projectile (cone-shaped) that weighed 128 pounds. It had first been

KENT, JAMES RANDAL, JR., from Pulaski County, Va. 2d Lieutenant, Co. E, 24th Va. Infantry. Died near Fairfax Station, Va., September 4, 1861, from disease contracted in the military service.

KINCHELOE, JAMES MACON, from Fauquier County, Va. Adjutant, 17th Tenn. Infantry. Died of disease August 26, 1861. Living in Tennessee at the breaking out of the War, he was appointed by the Governor drillmaster, with the rank of major; but desirous of reaching his native state, he finally attached himself to the 17th Tennessee Infantry Regiment, as adjutant, this regiment being then under marching orders to join the Army in Virginia, at Manassas. Overtaken by disease at Bristol, he died on the 26th of August, 1861. The officers of the regiment met September 17, 1861, and passed resolutions most complimentary to their late associate, testifying to his "natural genius, scientific attainments, and personal excellencies," and his preëminent qualifications as a tactician and a soldier.

KINNEY, THOMAS COLSTON, from Staunton, Va. Lieutenant, Staff of General Edward Johnson. Died at Staunton on July 28, 1863, of typhoid fever.

His first assignment was as lieutenant of artillery in the command of General Wise in Northwestern Virginia, and at Roanoke Island. In the disastrous fight at the latter place, after firing the last round of ammunition from his howitzer, on the flank of the sea-coast batteries, he fell from the effects of the concussion of a shell, and was taken prisoner. After his exchange, he served as lieutenant of engineers until the fall of his great Chief at Chancellorsville, when he was transferred to the Staff of General Edward Johnson, and bore up under impaired health until the return of the Army from Pennsylvania to his native soil, when he was stricken down by disease and brought home to die.

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fired (with great effect) the day before (Nov. 7, 1861), at the battle of Belmont. The gun was mounted on a high bluff at Fort DeRussey, overlooking the Mississippi River and the field of Belmont opposite. The day after the battle of Belmont, in the forenoon, General Polk came to the works on a tour of inspection and sent for Captain Kelter of the Heavy Artillery, who had had command of this gun the day before. The General complimented him and his men on the skill and efficiency with which they handled the gun in the previous day's engagement, in a very handsome manner, which gratified the captain very much. It was learned that the gun had been left loaded, and Captain Kelter suggested that it be discharged. To this General Polk acquiesced. Thereupon the captain ordered up the "firing squad." There was nothing (several witnesses declare) said about anything being wrong with the projectiles, or suggesting danger, else General Polk would not have risked the lives of those around to gratify a whim, (yet there were such rumors immediately after the accident). When the gun was fired by Captain Kelter it *burst*, and the smaller powder magazine under the parapet blew up. *Eleven were killed, including Captain Kelter and his whole firing squad*, besides Lieutenant Snowden of the Engineers, and Major Ford of General Polk's Staff, and the General himself was knocked senseless; he was carried to his quarters and in a few weeks was out again, but he was never a well man afterwards. After the war, Captain Kelter's old company had his remains brought to Shelbyville, Tennessee, and erected a monument over his grave in the Confederate Cemetery of that place.

KIRBY, EDMUND, from Richmond, Va. Lieutenant-Colonel, 58th N. C. Infantry. Killed at Chickamauga. (Son of Major Reginald Marvin Kirby, 1st Regiment Artillery, U. S. Army, who died in the service of his country during the Florida War. His paternal grandfather was Colonel Ephraim Kirby, of the Continental Army, who served with gallantry and distinction throughout the Revolutionary War, and was one of the original members of the "Society of the Cincinnati." A great jurist, he took part in the negotiations for the purchase of Louisiana, and was afterwards Judge of the Superior Court of that state. His mother was a daughter of David Barclay, a descendant of the family of John Knox, the Reformer, who came from Scotland, settled in Richmond, Va., 1806, and later married Ann Hooff Gretter, of Alexandria, Va.) Edmund Kirby graduated at the Virginia Military Institute in 1861, having been matriculated by his mother who after her husband's death, when Edmund was three years old, returned with her five children to her father's home in Richmond.

After serving with the Corps of Cadets, drilling the volunteer troops at Camp Lee, Richmond, he was relieved and attached to a Tennessee Regiment, and marched with it to Harper's Ferry; but a severe illness compelled his return to Richmond. Upon his recovery, he joined R. Lindsay Walker's Battery, as a private, and was soon made a sergeant. Soon the whole company was placed under his instruction, and the efficiency it afterwards displayed in action justified the trust reposed in him.

In 1863, upon the application of Colonel J. B. Palmer, commanding the 58th North Carolina Infantry and 5th Battalion North Carolina Cavalry, Kirby was transferred, and appointed adjutant of the 58th regiment. He became the favorite of his regiment, and, on the resignation of its lieutenant-colonel, was almost unanimously elected by his comrades to fill the vacancy. Before his commission arrived, but some time after he had entered upon his new duties, the battle of Chickamauga occurred.

Through an error of brigade formation, Kirby's regiment reached the summit of the hill some little time before the remaider of the brigade came under fire. His regiment was thus subjected to a severe cross fire, under which Lieutenant-Colonel Kirby fell, pierced by five balls, with the words: "Drive them, boys," on his lips. No more gallant officer fell in that bloody conflict. A brother had fallen earlier in the War, and the remains of the two heroes reposed together in the family burial-plot in old Shockoe Cemetery, Richmond, Va.

KOONTZ, HUGH RAMSEY THOMPSON, from Shenandoah County, Va. Captain, Co. K, 7th Va. Cavalry. Mortally wounded while

commanding his regiment in pursuit of Sheridan (a few miles from his home), and died the next day, October 8, 1864.

LACKLAND, FRANCIS, from Charles Town, W. Va. Lieutenant-Colonel, 2d Va. Infantry. Died September 4, 1861, from disease contracted in the military service. At the first battle of Manassas his conduct was marked by such coolness and gallantry that he was mentioned by name by General Johnston in his official report of the battle. The *Spirit of Jefferson,* the leading paper of his section, on the morning after his death, said: "He entered the service as a lieutenant-colonel, in delicate health, yet, neither the advantage of position nor the entreaty of friends could prevent him from sharing alike with all his comrades in arms the exposure of camp, the fatigue of the drill, and, of all else, that which was most dear to his heart, the danger and peril of battle. The bloody record of Manassas bears evidence of his undaunted courage, scientific skill, ardent and patriotic devotion to his native State. There was no post of danger that he did not covet, that honor might be won by his regiment and victory for the day."

LANGHORNE, JACOB KENT, from Christiansburg, Va. Private, 2d Va. Cavalry. Killed near Brandy Station, June 9, 1863.

LATIMER, JOSEPH WHITE, from Prince William County, Va. Major, Andrews' Battalion of Artillery. Wounded July 2d, at Gettysburg, losing his right arm; died August 1, 1863.

He was called the "Boy Major," though he was really a lieutenant-colonel when he died. He was a most brilliant young officer. The immortal Jackson, his old preceptor at the V. M. I., thus spoke of him when he was a lieutenant under his command: "This young officer was conspicuous for the coolness, judgment, and skill with which he managed his battery, fully supporting the opinion I had formed of his high merit." Many such compliments did he receive from officers of high rank. General Ewell called him his "little Napoleon." Major A. R. Courtney who was lieutenant of the "Hampden Artillery" which Latimer drilled at the Camp of Instruction in Richmond, in June, 1861, has written very feelingly of him, in "The Virginia Military Institute Memorial."

"While on drill," Major Courtney said, "we paid him the utmost respect, both men and officers yielding prompt obedience to every order, and off drill we fondled and caressed him as if he were a child. He was the 'officers' pet,' and we always spoke of him as 'our little Latimer.'" (He was then about 18 years old, small but dapper, and a superb cadet officer and most efficient drillmaster.)

Major Courtney said those under his command all loved him, and never was one heard to speak of him in any but terms of the highest praise.

When wounded his horse was killed and fell on him. Captain Dement of the same battalion, who was with him on the field of Gettysburg, and assisted in removing him from the field, said: "His bearing during the day was most gallant, showing the greatest coolness and bravery under the most trying circumstances," and that while he was under his horse he continued to give orders and seemed to think only of his command, undismayed by the King of Terrors—an artillery officer, not yet twenty years of age, whose equal could scarcely be found in the Armies of the Confederacy. Asked by his brother, Dr. Latimer, if he was afraid to die, he answered: "No, for my trust is in God."

His remains found sepulture in the Cemetery at Harrisonburg, Va., where a fitting monument will soon be erected to his memory.

LAUCK, CHARLES EDWARD, M. D., from Winchester (later Rockbridge County), Va.. 2d Lieutenant, 4th Va. Infantry. Died of typhoid fever in the military service, August 7, 1862.

LAWRENCE, WALTER ALLEN, from Nansemond County, Va. Private, Co. F, 9th Va. Infantry. Died at Banner Hospital, Richmond, Va., October 28, 1862, of disease contracted in the military service. (He was exempt from military service on account of lameness from childhood, but he insisted on enlisting.)

LAWSON, JOHN, from Richmond, Va. Major, 59th Va. Infantry. Wounded in the head at Five Forks, and died from the effects in 1870.

LEE, NATHANIEL WARE, from Greenville, Miss. Private, Co. D, 28th Mississippi Cavalry. Died from wound, June 17, 1863.

LEE, WILLIAM FITZHUGH, from Fairfax County, Va. Lieutenant-Colonel, 33d Va. Infantry. Mortally wounded at First Manassas.

After graduating in 1853 at the V. M. I., he received a commission in the Army as second lieutenant. While serving at his post at the Arsenal in St. Louis, early in 1861, news came of the stirring events transpiring in his native State. He expressed disapprobation of the course being pursued by the Federal Government towards the South, whereupon he was arrested by Captain Lyons (of bloody notoriety), and kept a prisoner until court-martialed. After his release, sending in his resignation, he hurried to Virginia to offer her his sword. He was first appointed captain in the Confederate Army and was ordered to duty at Harper's Ferry. While engaged in the training of the raw recruits of the recently formed Army, he was commissioned lieutenant-colonel of the 33d Virginia Infantry. On the field of First Manassas he twice captured Ricketts' famous Battery, but so galling was the fire that each

time it was lost. The third time, it was taken and kept; but, ere this was accomplished, Colonel Lee fell mortally wounded. He lingered several days at a private house in the vicinity of the battlefield, tenderly nursed by his wife and friends, and visited by his father's friend, the Rev. Dr. Andrews, a fellow-clergyman of the Episcopal Church.

He was perfectly resigned to the will of his Heavenly Father, yet his love for his mother made him call often for her, sorrowing for the crushing blow that he knew was so soon to fall upon her. The dying blessing of his good father, the Reverend William F. Lee, had rested upon him from his fifth year, and, all through his fatherless boyhood and matured life, there was a chivalry in his devotion to his widowed mother that made him ever mindful of her happiness. "He had lived a soldier and a Christian; he died, proudly vindicating his title to the former, and, through faith in Christ Jesus, humbly trustful that he was the latter."

General Jackson spoke of his gallantry and courage in the highest terms, and expressed to Hunter McGuire, his Medical Director, the most profound regret at his loss.

LEFTWICH, JAMES CLAYTOR, from Franklin County, Va. Private, Co. I, 2d Va. Cavalry. Killed while a prisoner at Kelly's Ford, March 17, 1863.

He was a drillmaster with the Corps of Cadets in Richmond from April to the early part of June, 1861. In July, he volunteered in Co. B, 14th Va. Infantry, commanded by his brother, Captain Thomas Leftwich. He later joined Co. I, 2d Va. Cavalry. He was in all the battles around Richmond from the 26th to the 30th of June, 1862, and bore a conspicuous part in all the battles in which his splendid regiment was engaged, under the gallant Munford (V. M. I.), up to the time of the battle of Kelly's Ford, 17th March, 1863, where his horse was shot under him, and he was captured. Our cavalry drove the enemy back; but, to prevent his recapture, or escape rather, they *shot him in the left side,* the ball lodging in the spine. His wound proved fatal; lingering in excruciating agony till June 10th, he died at the home of his brother, in Bedford County, Va.

A gallant and fearless soldier, ever at his post, always in the hottest of the fight, he received his deathblow from an unworthy foe, who violated every law of humanity and civilization in this dastardly act.

LEWIS, ANDREW DONNELLY, from Kanawha County, W. Va. Captain, "Crescent Rifles," of New Orleans. Wounded at Shiloh, he died just before (or just after) the War ended, of his wound.

LOGAN, RICHARD, JR., from Halifax County, Va. Captain, Co. H, 14th Va. Infantry. Killed, Gettysburg, July 3, 1863. His company was mustered into the service of the State in May, 1861, and was subsequently transferred to the service of the Confederate States. His regiment was first engaged at Seven Pines, and subsequently with distinction in the bloody battle of Malvern Hill, Captain Logan being in command of the regiment during the latter part of that battle.

He commanded his company in all the battles fought except Chancellorsville, at which time his division was investing Suffolk,—until the day of his death,—Second Manassas, Sharpsburg, Harper's Ferry, Fredericksburg, Suffolk, and, lastly, Gettysburg. He led his company in the celebrated charge of Pickett's Division on the ever-memorable 3d of July, 1863; and, at the close of the action, after having aided in capturing the enemy's guns, he fell, facing the enemy, pierced by a ball which passed entirely through his body, about the region of the heart. He died without uttering a word.

LYLE, ALEXANDER, from Charlotte County, Va. Private, Mosby's Cavalry Battalion. Mortally wounded in the summer of 1863, at Warrenton Junction.

He enlisted before he had reached his seventeenth year. He fell into the hands of the enemy by whom he was carried to Alexandria, where he died in a hospital, in the month of June of that year.

Just one year before, his gallant brother, Captain Matthew Lyle, fell in the battle of Gaines's Mill.

Alexander Lyle was attended in his last moments by a Federal chaplain. He died composedly about two o'clock in the afternoon. When death came, he met it with fortitude and resignation, and passed away without visible pain or struggle, receiving the last offices of Christian benevolence at the hands of those with whom resentment had melted into admiring pity. He sleeps side by side with his Northern adversaries, and when flesh and heart were failing, received this unsolicited and unlooked-for tribute from the stranger: "A brave and noble young man!"

LYNCH, DAVID CAMPBELL, from Abingdon, Va. Private, "Washington Mounted Riflemen." Died at Orange C. H., Va., March 3, 1863, from disease contracted in the military service.

MACON, EDGAR, from Orange County, Va. 2d Lieutenant, Thomas's Artillery. Killed at First Manassas, July 21, 1861. Lieutenant Macon, after having borne the heat and burden of the day, fell a victim to a random shot, fired after the battle was over and the enemy were retiring. He had just mounted his horse, preparatory to withdrawing from the field, when he was struck by a shell and instantly killed.

He was the only son of a widowed mother, and left a wife and an infant son born three days before his death. He was a great-nephew of President Madison, and his remains repose in the Cemetery at Montpelier, where rest his ancestors of many generations.

MACON, MILES CARY, from Hanover County, Va. Captain, Richmond "Fayette Artillery." Killed April 8, 1865.

From the beginning to the end, he was the commander of this famous battery. He passed through many battles untouched, and was reserved for one of the last victims, being killed at Appomattox Courthouse, the day before the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia.

MADISON, JOHN YOUNG STOCKDELL, from Petersburg, Va. Private, Braxton's Artillery. Died of fever soon after the battle of First Manassas, and near the battlefield.

MAGRUDER, JOHN BOWIE, from Albemarle County, Va. Colonel, 57th Va. Infantry. Killed at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863.

He had graduated at the close of the session of 1859-60, at the University of Virginia, with the degree of Master of Arts, in his 21st year. In the spring of 1861, he matriculated at the V. M. I., for the purpose of perfecting himself in military science, as a preparation for the exigencies of the War, then imminent. He made a superb officer, rising to eminence while still very young, and sealing his devotion to his country with his life's blood, at Gettysburg.

MALLORY, FRANCIS, from Hampton, Va. Colonel, 55th Va. Infantry. Killed at Chancellorsville, May 2, 1863.

He graduated in 1853. Three years afterwards, he was commissioned second lieutenant in the Fourth United States Infantry. For five years he was in active service in Oregon and Washington Territories, and received his first experience of warfare on the slopes of the Pacific. Ambitious of glory, daring and resolute, he shrank from neither danger nor difficulties, but courted adventure. On one occasion, he, personally and alone, captured an Indian chief, and, disarming him, brought him a prisoner to the post. On April 2, 1861, he wrote his mother from Fort Cascades: " . . . I consider it as much my duty to side with my State against all enemies, as I would to defend and protect you, my dear mother, from the whole world, right or wrong. Should I fall in the defense of my mother, or my State, the only regret would be that I had not a hundred lives to offer, instead of one." "Such a sentiment is the key of the whole man, since he who could feel and pen it, and then die in its support, possessed all the elements of true manhood and greatness!"

MARABLE, DAVID ADONIRAM JUDSON, from Sussex County, Va. Private, Co. A, 41st Va. Infantry. Wounded in Seven Days' battles around Richmond, while carrying his regiment's colors, and died in Richmond,—1862.

MARR, JOHN QUINCY, from Warrenton, Va. Captain, "Warrenton Rifles." Killed at Fairfax C. H., Va., June 1, 1861. "First blood of the War."

Commissioned lieutenant-colonel in the active volunteer forces of Virginia (commission bearing date 5th of May, 1861). Graduated at V. M. I., July 4, 1846, "Second Distinguished." Assistant Professor, V. M. I.; Presiding Justice of Magistrate's Court; High Sheriff of Fauquier County; Member Secession Convention of Virginia.

MARSHALL, JAMES KEITH, from Fauquier County, Va. Colonel, 52d N. C. Infantry. Killed at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863, aged 24.

He commanded Pettigrew's Brigade in the battle. He had passed the stone fence in the charge on Cemetery Hill, and, while cheering his men, received two balls in his forehead which caused his instant death.

MATTHEWS, WALTER T——, from Richmond, Va. Private, 3d Richmond Howitzers. Killed at Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862.

MAY, BENJ. HARRISON, M. D., from Petersburg, Va. Color-Bearer, 12th Va. Infantry. Mortally wounded at Spottsylvania C. H., and died May 16, 1864. He behaved with dauntless courage, all witnesses testify.

MCCANCE, ROBERT GARDNER, from Richmond, Va. Private, Otey Battery. Killed in camp, near Petersburg, Va., April 27, 1862, while walking from his tent to his gun, by a shot from the enemy's guns.

His captain, the brave David N. Walker, wrote his father: " . . . I have never heard an oath or an unclean speech from him—things so common in the Army—and he was remarkably free from all bad habits which fell constantly under his eye. I mean what I say, when I call him noble, manly, generous, brave!"

MCDONALD, CRAIG WOODROW, from Hampshire County, W. Va. Aide-de-Camp to General Elzey. Killed, Gaines's Mill, June, 1862. (Brother of Colonel Marshall McDonald, professor for many years at the V. M. I., and of Kenneth McDonald, graduated in 1873.)

He had a presentiment that he would be killed in this battle, yet the feeling did not dampen the ardor of his zeal. He saw a portion of the lines wavering, and with quick perception realized that disaster was imminent. Without waiting for

orders he hurriedly rode back for the reinforcements he knew to be coming. General Walker gave the command to "double quick." The column swept forward to the rescue, McDonald at the head, waving his cap high in air, and, with clarion voice, shouting: "Rescue!" A grapeshot struck him in the breast, and he fell dead.

McDOWELL, WILLIAM HUGH, from Mecklenburg County, N. C. Private, Co. B, Corps Cadets. Killed at New Market, May 15, 1864.

McGEHEE, NATHANIEL MADISON, from Louisa County, Va. Private, Co. C, 23d Va. Infantry. Killed near Strasburg, Va., May 28, 1862.

McKINNEY, ROBERT M——, from Lynchburg, Va. Colonel, 15th N. C. Infantry. Killed on Virginia Peninsula, April 16, 1862. He had expressed a conviction that he would be killed in his first battle. How sadly was that foreboding realised! At the time he was called to command this regiment, he occupied a professor's chair in the North Carolina Military Institute.

MEARES, LEVIN W——, from Hampton, Va. Private, "Old Dominion Dragoons," Co. D, 3d Va. Cavalry. Died of typhoid fever in the military service, in 1862.

MEEM, JAMES LAWRENCE, from Lynchburg, Va. Captain and A. A.-G. Garland's Brigade. Killed at the battle of Seven Pines. He spent the day in the thickest of the fight, cheering his men, and sharing their hardships, and dangers, having two horses killed under him. Towards its close, when inside the enemy's breastworks from which they had been driven, he was pierced by one of their balls and fell dead.

An officer of high rank, and his devoted friend, thus wrote of Captain Meem: "I must tell you with what beautiful consistency my gallant comrade each night drew out his Testament and reverently read a chapter before retiring to rest. The regularity and feeling with which this was done—in the camp, on the picket, in the very presence of the enemy—his remarkable purity of character (almost woman-like), and frequent expressions of his, inspired me with *hope and confidence*. . . . I shall think of him as a Bayard, *'Sans peur et sans reproche.'* . . . He is always spoken of as the *gallant* Captain Meem."

(An older brother was likewise a graduate of the Virginia Military Institute, whose five sons and grandson are also graduates.)

MILLER, RANDOLPH RUSSELL, from Shenandoah County, Va. 1st Lieutenant, Co. A, 10th Va. Infantry. Killed at Chancellorsville, while leading his regiment, and after recapturing his colors (his senior officers having fallen, and the colors having been lost).

MILTON, GEORGE ROBERT, M. D., from Winchester, Va. (later, from Missouri). Colonel in Price's Army. Died May 31, 1865, from effects of exposure in the military service.

MOFFETT, JOHN STUART, from Rockbridge County, Va. Cadet Drillmaster in 4th Va. Infantry, and a volunteer. Killed at First Manassas, July 21, 1861.

(John Moffett, Charlie Moore, and Charlie Norris all became brother-cadets within a few days of one another, entered service together, and on the same day died for the common Mother Country, in their first battle for her rights.)

MOFFETT, WALTER FRANKLIN, from Rappahannock County, Va. Private, Co. B, 6th Va. Cavalry. Killed at Yellow Tavern, May 11, 1864.

MONTAGUE, ANDREW JACKSON, from Middlesex County, Va. Private, Co. C, 55th Va. Infantry. Died July 12th, from wound received in battle of Gaines's Mill, June 27, 1862.

His gallant lieutenant-colonel (William S. Christian) wrote the V. M. I. Historiographer: "I was commanding the regiment in that fight, and young Montague was only a few feet from me when he was shot. He turned to me and said, 'Colonel, I am shot, but I think I can continue to fight.' I looked at him, and seeing the blood streaming from his arm and body, said, 'Jack, go at once to the rear, and see the surgeon.' That was the last time I ever saw him. He was a most gallant and excellent soldier, in camp and in the field. A short time before the battles around Richmond, in June, 1862, a vacancy occurred in Co. C, of junior second lieutenant. At that time, the men elected their officers. At that election, Montague and my brother (Dr. R. A. Christian) were both nominated. My brother was elected by only a majority of two votes, thus showing the estimate in which Jack Montague was held by his comrades."

MOOMAU, JOHN BEAN, from Pendleton County, W. Va. Captain, "Franklin Guards." Died in military service, in 1864.

MOORE, CHARLES W——, from Abingdon, Va. Cadet Drillmaster (acting captain). Killed at First Manassas July 21, 1861, as a volunteer.

(See John S. Moffett above.)

Captain Robert McCulloch, a comrade of Moore's at the V. M. I., found his body and buried it on the battlefield, and wrote his mother where it was buried, and how the grave was marked; so that his mother was able to identify the grave and re-inter the body of her gallant young son.

MORGAN, EDWARD FORD, from Augusta, Ga. Major, 8th Va. Battalion Infantry. Died January 8, 1869, from disease contracted in the military service.

He is said to have been the youngest major in the Army, at the time of his appointment. He was severely wounded at Atlanta (at first thought mortally) by a minie ball which passed through his neck, but after a few months he was able to resume duty in the field.

After the disastrous battles of Franklin and Nashville (in which he was not engaged, owing to a severe attack of erysipelas, doubtless superinduced by his late serious wound), he was in command of what remained of Gist's Brigade, though he was only a major in rank. He clung to the western Army, and shared its fate in North Carolina.

Few of his youthful compatriots possessed more of the elements of a soldier. He was a boy in years, but a man in attributes. The last few years of his short but eventful life were spent in superintending a plantation in Alabama, and there in the morning of life, on the 8d day of January, 1869, he died, from disease contracted in the service of his country.

MORGAN, WILLIAM HENRY, from Chesterfield County, Va. Captain, Co. F, 21st Va. Infantry. Killed at Cedar Run, August 9, 1862.

He enlisted June, 1861, as adjutant of the 21st Va. Infantry, and was soon elected Captain of Co. F, of that regiment (famous "F" Co. of Richmond). His V. M. I. comrade, Captain John D. Young (himself a gallant Confederate officer), prepared for "The Virginia Military Institute Memorial" a fitting and touching sketch of this superb soldier and noble gentleman. "Perhaps," says Captain Young, "there is nothing that so fascinates the gaze of the soldier and diverts his attention from the horrors of the battlefield and its attendant fears and misgivings, as the spectacle of an officer who calmly and fearlessly looks death in the face; one who bears himself with the ease and serenity that becomes the drawing-room, rather than the disordered arena of carnage; who, without the least bravado, yet with the high pride and courage that scorns the base thought of fear, encourages others, and stands with waiting patience to meet his fate; one, in short, who knows no compromise with duty. In such noble presence even the basest minds must feel the electric effect of their proximity; it is the touch of nature that makes all akin, and mesmerizes the mind and body of the crowd to the strong will of the leader.

"Thus it was, that Morgan, reckless of his own life, moved with careless ease before his men whom he compelled to lie down under the severe artillery fire to which they were exposed.

"In the meantime, the pressure in front of the brigade had become very much increased; the irregular line of skirmishers were replaced by solid masses of infantry; the advance had begun, and in a few minutes a fierce force poured down on the 2d Brigade, overlapping its left flank, and filling the gap between the brigade and the "Stonewall." The last corps (taken on the flank, and in reverse) at once broke, as did also the left regiment of the 2d Brigade. It was reserved for the 21st Regiment to stay the torrent, and hold in check for a few minutes only (but yet how important even that time!) the victorious enemy.

"In this mêlée, Morgan, ever foremost in action, met a glorious death, while encouraging his men to stand fast and do their duty.

"Thus fell, in the prime of life, a most gallant soldier and virtuous gentleman. Throughout his military career, he never failed either in the comprehension or performance of his duty; and, in the high promise that he gave of future usefulness, it is not too much to say that the scope of his office was far too small to show the extent of his genius. No greater compliment could be rendered him as an officer than the discipline of his company under the trying circumstances of his death."

He graduated in 1860, "First Captain" of his Class, and was immediately appointed an assistant professor at the Institute. (Two younger brothers were also cadets with him.)

MORTON, TIGNAL JONES, from Mecklenburg County, Va. Colonel, 53d Tenn. Infantry. Died ——, 1871, from effects of wounds received in the military service.

NEFF, JOHN FRANCIS, from Shenandoah County, Va. Colonel, 33d Va. Infantry. Killed at Gainesville, Va., August 28, 1862.

NIEMEYER, JOHN CHANDLER, from Portsmouth, Va. 1st Lieutenant, Co. I, 9th Va. Infantry. Killed at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863.

NORRIS, CHARLES ROBERT, from Leesburg, Va. Cadet Drillmaster, acting captain, 27th Va. Infantry. Killed, First Manassas. (See J. S. Moffett above.)

OLIVER, JOHN MAYO, from Mecklenburg County, Va. Captain, Oliver's Battery. Mortally wounded at Wytheville, Va., and died July 18, 1863.

OLIVER, YELVERTON NEAL, from Roanoke County, Va. 1st Lieutenant, "Roanoke Grays," 28th Va. Infantry, afterwards Courier in Cavalry. Killed at Fisher's Hill, in the fall of 1864. (He was exempt from service in the field on account of ill health, but insisted on serving.)

OTEY, GEORGE GASTON, from Lynchburg, Va. Captain, Otey Battery. Died October 21, 1862, from wound received at

Lewisburg. (One of five cadet brothers who were distinguished officers in the Confederate Army.)

PANNILL, JOHN MORTON, from Patrick County, Va. Enlisted, but died November, 1861, before entering the field. Private, 42d Va. Infantry.

PARK, WILLIAM K——, from Jackson County, Va. (W. Va.). Lieutenant, Engineers. Died May 5, 1865, of disease contracted in the service.

PARRAN, WM. SELLMAN, M. D., from Herdy County, Va. (W. Va.). Captain and Surgeon, Courtney's Battalion Artillery. Killed at Sharpsburg, September 17, 1862.

PATTERSON, REUBEN BLAKEY, M. D., from Amherst County, Va. Captain and Assistant Surgeon, 5th Va. Infantry. Died February 1, 1862, in the military service.

PATTON, GEO. SMITH, from Charleston, Va. (W. Va.). Colonel, 22d Va. Infantry. Mortally wounded at Winchester, and died June 19, 1864.

PATTON, WALLER TAZEWELL, from Culpeper County, Va. Colonel, 7th Va. Infantry. Mortally wounded at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863, and died eighteen days afterwards. (Two of five brothers in C. S. A. killed, four of whom being graduates of the Institute.)

*PEARCE, ROBERT SCOTT, from Richmond, Va. 1st Lieutenant, and commanding Johnson's Battery. Mortally wounded, May 23, 1864, at Taylorsville, Va., and died next morning.

PEARSON, JOHN RUFUS, from Salisbury, N. C. 1st Lieutenant, 7th N. C. Infantry. Killed, Frazier's Farm, September 30, 1864.

PEEBLES, HARTWELL HEATH, from Petersburg, Va. 2d Lieutenant, Hinton's Co., Deering's Cavalry. Died August ——, 1864, of typhoid fever contracted in the military service.

PEGRAM, JOHN CARGILL, from Norfolk, Va. Captain and A. A.-G. to General Matt. Ranson. Killed June 16, 1864. (Before Petersburg.)

PEMBERTON, JOHN RICHARD, from Goochland County, Va. Private, 4th Va. Cavalry. Killed by deserter he had been sent to apprehend, who was riding behind him on his horse.

PENDLETON, EDWARD, from Clarke County, Va. Lieutenant, Co. C, 11th Va. Infantry. Killed May 6, 1864. (The Wilderness.)

PENDLETON, WILLIAM WOOD, from New Orleans, La. Private, Washington Artillery. Died 1870, from the effects of the military service.

PENNYBACKER, THOS. JEFFERSON, from Rockingham County, Va. Captain, Co. H, 10th Va. Cavalry. Died December 6, 1861, from wound received at Flint Hill, Va.

*The night before he was wounded, he heard of his wife's illness, but said, "My duty is here." When his body reached Richmond, the funeral of his young wife was taking place there, she having died *on the same day and hour with him.*

PETWAY, OLIVER CROMWELL, from Edgecombe County, N. C. Lieutenant-Colonel, 35th N. C. Infantry. Killed at Malvern Hill, July 1, 1862. (In one year, he rose from a cadetship to the command of a regiment.)

PITTS, JOHN HENRY, from King William County, Va. Captain of a King William company which he raised, but died before he could see active service, June 1, 1861.

POWELL, RICHARD HARRISON, from Tarboro, N. C. Lieutenant, Co. G, 3d N. C. Cavalry. Mortally wounded near Dinwiddie C. H., and died the following day, April 1, 1865.

PRESTON, WILLIAM CARUTHERS, from Lexington, Va. Volunteer cadet with "Liberty Hall Volunteers," 4th Va. Infantry. Mortally wounded, Second Manassas, August 28, 1862, and died the next day. (Third son of Col. J. T. L. Preston, Professor, V. M. I.)

PRICE, GEORGE SIMPSON, from Botetourt County, Va. Private, Co. C, 2d Va. Cavalry. Killed at Hartswood Church, Va., February 26, 1863.

RANDOLPH, WILLIAM HENRY, from Augusta County, Va. Captain, Co. B, 5th Va. Infantry. Killed at Cold Harbor, June 27, 1862.

REDWOOD, JOHN TYLER, from Mobile, Ala. Private, Albemarle Artillery. Wounded at Cold Harbor, June 27, 1862. Died July, 1862. (A younger brother served gallantly in the New Market Battalion.)

REVELEY, WILLIAM WIRT, from Appomattox County, Va. Lieutenant, Co. C, Lucas's Battalion Artillery from South Carolina. Prisoner at time of surrender, and sick. Died October 25, 1865, from effects of the military service.

RHODES, EDWARD AVERETT, from Stockton, Cal. 1st Lieutenant, 11th N. C. Infantry. Killed, with colors in hand, at Gettysburg, July 1, 1863.

RICE, THOMAS CRENSHAW, M. D., from Charlotte County, Va. Lieutenant, 3d Va. Cavalry. Died July 20, 1862, from disease contracted in the military service.

RICHARDSON, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, from Portsmouth, Va. Major, 52d N. C. Infantry. Killed at Gettysburg.

RIDDICK, CHARLES HENRY, from Nansemond County, Va. Captain, 13th Va. Cavalry. Desperately wounded, and died August —, 1878, from effects of wound.

RIDLEY, JOHN DAVID, from Oxford, N. C. 1st Lieutenant of Volunteers, later, Courier on Jackson's Staff. He never recovered from the injury to his head by the concussion of a bursting shell in battle, and died early in 1865.

RODES, ROBERT EMMET, from Lynchburg, Va. Major-General, C. S. A. Killed, Winchester, Va., September 19, 1864.

ROGERS, ARTHUR LEE, from Loudoun County, Va. Major, Artillery. Died from effects of wound received at Chancellorsville, September 18, 1871. (Designer of flag adopted by Confederate Congress.)

RUTHERFORD, ROBERT HENDERSON, from Cumberland County, Va. Private, Co. G, 3d Va. Cavalry. Died in the military service, January 18, 1868.

SCALES, JAMES ROBERT, from Patrick County, Va. Captain, Co. H, 54th Va. Infantry. Died November 9, 1866, from disease induced by hardships and exposure in the campaign in Tennessee, in winter of 1864-5.

SEABORN, GEORGE ANDREW, from Sussex County, Va. Private, 13th Va. Cavalry. Killed, Dinwiddie C. H., April 8, 1865.

SELDEN, WILLIAM BOSWELL, from Norfolk, Va. 1st Lieutenant, C. S. Engineers. Killed while acting as lieutenant of artillery, at Roanoke Island, February 8, 1862.

SILVESTER, KEELING, from Norfolk, Va. Private, 15th Va. Cavalry. Killed in 1864, defending a Southern woman, while on special detail in North Carolina.

SIMPSON, ROBERT HENRY, from Warren County, Va. Major, 17th Va. Infantry. Lost leg at Drewry's Bluff, and died June 9, 1864.

SLAUGHTER, EDWARD MERCER, from Rappahannock County, Va. Private, 6th Va. Cavalry. Killed November 12, 1864, in the Valley of Virginia.

SMITH, FRANCIS WILLIAMSON, from Norfolk, Va. Lieutenant-Colonel, Artillery. Mortally wounded and died next day, April 6, 1865, at Amelia Springs, Va.

SPEARS, JOHN WALTER, from Powhatan County, Va. Private, Co. E, 4th Va. Cavalry. Died May 29, 1864, from wound received at Spottsylvania C. H., May 8th.

SPEED, HENRY GOODRIDGE, from Granville County, N. C. Private, 1st N. C. Cavalry. Killed, Poplar Spring Church, Va., August 21, 1864.

STANARD, JAQUELINE BEVERLEY, from Orange County, Va. Private, Co. D, Corps Cadets. Killed at New Market, May 15, 1864.

STARKE, EDWARD BUTLER, from New Orleans, La. (Son of General W. E. Starke, C. S. A., killed.) Adjutant, 7th Va. Infantry. Mortally wounded at Seven Pines, and died May 31, 1862.

STEWART, BENJAMIN F——, from Westmoreland County, Va. Captain, Co. K, 40th Va. Infantry. Killed, Spottsylvania C. H., May 12, 1864.

STONE, NOLAN, from Natchez, Miss. Sergeant, Co. B, 1st Engineers, Army Northern Virginia. Died January 21, 1867, from hardships and exposure of military service.

STRANGE, JOHN BOWIE, from Fluvanna County, Va. Colonel, 19th Va. Infantry. Killed at South Mountain, September 14, 1862,

after having previously (in the same battle) received two wounds. (He was the first cadet posted as a sentinel, November 11, 1839, at the V. M. I.)

STUART, WILLIAM DABNEY, from Staunton, Va. Colonel, 56th Va. Infantry. Mortally wounded at Gettysburg, and died three weeks afterwards.

SUDDOTH, FRANCIS MARION, from Fauquier County, Va. Adjutant, 26th Va. Infantry. Died October 30, 1861, of disease contracted in the military service.

SYDNOR, RICHARD DOWNING BOARDMAN, from Northumberland County, Va. 2d Lieutenant, Co. B, 40th Va. Infantry. From three desperate wounds received June 30, 1862, in Seven Days' battles near Richmond, he died July 22, 1862.

TAYLOR, ROBERT CRAIG, from Montgomery County, Va. Private, Co. G, 4th Va. Infantry. Killed, Malvern Hill, July 1, 1862.

TAYLOR, THOMAS SKELTON, from Franklin County, Va. Captain, Co. D, 24th Va. Infantry. Died October 4, 1861, of typhoid fever, contracted in the military service.

TERRY, CHARLES WENTWORTH, from Pittsylvania County, Va. Sergeant, Co. G, 11th Va. Infantry. Killed, Seven Pines, May 31, 1862.

THOMAS, LEWIS M., from Christian County, Ky. Captain and Asst. Adjutant-General, Staff, General B. H. Helm. Died at Corinth, Miss., of typhoid fever, May 19, 1862, due to unhealthful condition of the camp at Corinth.

THOMSON, JAMES WALTON, from Clarke County, Va. Major, Horse Artillery, Army Northern Virginia. Killed April 6, 1865 (after having been wounded the day before), while leading a cavalry charge, on retreat to Appomattox.

TERRILL, JAMES BARBOUR, from Bath County, Va. Brigadier-General, Army Northern Virginia. Killed, Bethesda Church, Va., May 31, 1864.

TOMES, FRANCIS ISELIN, from Memphis, Tenn. Private, V. M. I. Corps Cadets. Died a few months after the War, from exposure in the military service, with the Battalion of Cadets.

TREDWAY, THOMAS BOOKER, from Pittsylvania County, Va. Sergeant, Co. I, 53d Va. Infantry. Mortally wounded at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863. (No further tidings ever received of him.)

TROUT, ERASMUS STRIBLING, from Staunton, Va. Captain, Co. H, 52d Va. Infantry. Died October 20, 1866, from effects of the military service.

TURNER, JOHN ANDERSON, from Bladen Springs, Ala. 1st Lieutenant, Robertson's Horse Artillery, attached to 1st La. Cavalry, Army of Tennessee. Mortally wounded near Atlanta, and died in hospital at Macon, Ga., July 23, 1864.

TYLER, SAMUEL, from Richmond, Va. 1st Lieutenant, C. S. Engineers. Lingering from illness contracted in the military service for two years, he died May 8, 1867.

URQUHART, CHARLES FOX, from Southampton County, Va. Major, 3d Va. Infantry. Killed at Sharpsburg, with colors in hand, September 17, 1862.

VAN EPPS, GEORGE CARROLL, from Atlanta, Ga. Private, Co. A, 19th Tenn. Infantry. Died November 6, 1872, from disease contracted in the military service.

VAUGHAN, ROBERT FRANCIS, from Amelia County, Va. Private, Co. G, 1st Va. Cavalry. Killed at Winchester, September 19, 1864.

*WALLER, JOHN TYLER, from Williamsburg, Va. Private, Mosby's Cavalry. Killed March 14, 1865.

WALTHALL, JAMES ALEXANDER, from Richmond, Va. 1st Lieutenant and Adjutant, 18th Va. Infantry. Died from exposure soon after his appointment, early in summer of 1861. (He was Ord. Sergeant of A Co., in Corps marched to Richmond by Jackson, in April, 1861.)

WARD, JOHN CABELL, from Lynchburg, Va. Captain, Co. E, 11th Va. Infantry. Died March 7, 1866, from hardships suffered in prison.

WARD, WILLIAM NORWOOD, JR., from Richmond County, Va. Captain, 47th Va. Infantry. Died August 29, 1862, from wound received at Gaines's Mill.

WARWICK, BARKSDALE, from Richmond, Va. 1st Lieutenant and Aide-de-Camp to General H. A. Wise. Killed March 29, 1865, on retreat to Appomattox.

WATKINS, WILLIAM EDWARD, from Halifax County, Va. Ord. Sergeant, Albright's Battery. Died a few months after the War, of disease contracted in the military service.

WATSON, WILLIAM E., from Loudoun County, Va. C. S. A. (command unknown). Captured at Gettysburg, and died at Johnson's Island, 1863.

WHEATLEY, MANDLY TAYLOR, from Warren County, Va. Major, 49th Va. Infantry. Died of typhoid fever contracted in the military service, December —, 1861.

WHEELWRIGHT, JOSEPH CHRISTOPHER, from Westmoreland County, Va. Private, Co. C, Corps Cadets. Killed at New Market, May 15, 1864.

WILLIAMS, BENJAMIN WATKINS, from Danville, Va. Private (command unknown). Died of disease contracted in the military service, ———, 1863.

*Grandson of Ex-President Tyler. He was killed by a squad of Federals who surrounded him after his little horse could go no farther. The officer in command reported his death at a neighboring farm-house, and added, "Let him be buried honorably, for he was the bravest rebel we ever fought." He was buried at Williamsburg, his epitaph having been chosen by himself several months before—the simple Latin motto, "*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.*"

When it was thought he would probably die, from a desperate wound received previously at the battle of Williamsburg, he said,—"If I die, it will be in defense of Mamma's grave from the footsteps of the enemy." The Legislature of Virginia is said to have recorded this touching incident in its Journal.

APPENDIX C

ASSISTANT PROFESSORS AND TACTICAL STAFF, 1842-1865

Cadet James B. Dorman, Dept. Languages, 1842-3.
Cadet William J. Warden, Dept. Languages, 1842-3.
Cadet J. W. Wildman, Dept. Mathematics, 1842-3.
Cadet J. C. Wills, Dept. Mathematics, 1842-3.
Lieut. W. A. Forbes, Dept. Mathematics, 1844-5-6-7.
Lieut. W. H. Richardson, Jr., Dept. Tactics, 1844-5-6-7.
Cadet T. B. Robertson, Dept. Mathematics, 1844-5.
Cadet W. M. Nelson, Dept. Languages, 1844-5.
Lieut. T. B. Robertson, Dept. Tactics, 1845-6.
Lieut. R. E. Colston, Dept. French, 1845-6-7-8-9.
Lieut. J. Q. Marr, Dept. Mathematics, 1847-8.
Cadet S. T. Pendleton, Dept. Mathematics, 1847-8.
Cadet J. C. Councill, Dept. Mathematics, 1847-8.
Cadet J. P. Beale, Dept. Languages, 1847-8.
Lieut. R. E. Rodes, Dept. Physical Sciences and Tactics. 1848-9-50.
Cadet John Lawson, Dept. Mathematics, 1848-9.
Cadet J. W. Massie, Dept. Mathematics, 1848-9.
Cadet Samuel Garland, Dept. Languages, 1848-9.
Cadet Robert Gatewood, Dept. Languages, 1848-9.
Cadet W. W. Gordon, Dept. Mathematics, 1848-9-50.
Lieut. J. W. Massie, Dept. Mathematics, 1849-50.
Cadet Charles Denby, Dept. Languages, 1849-50.
Cadet C. H. Harrison, Dept. Latin, 1849-50.
Capt. J. W. Massie, Dept. Mathematics and Tactics, 1850-1.
Cadet Joseph Mayo, Dept. Mathematics, 1850-1-2.
Cadet F. S. Bass, Dept. Languages, 1850-1.
Cadet Thomas A. Harris, Dept. Languages, 1850-1.
Capt. R. E. Colston, Dept. Languages, 1849-50-51.
Lieut. W. D. Stuart, Dept. Mathematics, 1851-2.
Cadet Geo. S. Patton, Dept. Languages, 1851-2.
Cadet W. Silvester, Dept. Languages, 1851-2.
Capt. J. W. Allen, Dept. Mathematics, 1853-4.
Lieut. Daniel Trueheart, Dept. Mathematics, 1853-4.
Lieut. Henry A. Whiting, Dept. Languages and Tactics, 1853-4.
Cadet W. T. Patton, Dept. Languages and Tactics, 1853-4-5.
Capt. J. G. Gamble, Dept. Mathematics and Tactics, 1854-5.
Cadet Stapleton Crutchfield, Dept. Mathematics, 1854-5.

Lieut. G. H. Smith, Dept. Languages and Tactics, 1854-5.
Lieut. Stapleton Crutchfield, Dept. Mathematics and Tactics, 1855-6-7.
Capt. L. B. Williams, Dept. Mathematics, 1855-6-7-8.
Cadet F. W. Smith, Dept. Mathematics, 1855-6.
Lieut. W. T. Patton, Dept. Languages and Tactics, 1855-6-7.
Cadet W. B. Selden, Dept. Languages and Tactics, 1855-6.
Lieut. P. B. Stanard, Dept. Latin and Tactics, 1856-7.
Lieut. E. V. Bargamin, Dept. French, 1856-7-8.
Capt. Stapleton Crutchfield, Dept. Mathematics and Tactics, 1857-8.
Lieut. J. H. Lane, Dept. Mathematics and Tactics, 1857-8.
Lieut. P. P. Slaughter, Dept. Latin and Tactics, 1857-8.
Lieut. Geo. M. Edgar, Dept. Chemistry and Tactics, 1857-8.
Lieut. R. M. Mayo, Dept. Mathematics and Tactics, 1858-9.
Capt. M. B. Hardin, Dept. Latin and Tactics, 1858-9-60-61.
Lieut. B. F. Stewart, Dept. French and Tactics, 1858-9.
Lieut. John McCausland, Dept. Mathematics and Tactics, 1859-60-61.
Lieut. J. H. Chenoweth, Dept. Mathematics and Tactics, 1859-60.
Lieut. W. A. Smith, Dept. Mathematics and Tactics, 1861-2.
Lieut. Daniel Trueheart, Dept. Mathematics and Tactics, 1859-60.
Lieut. W. H. Otey, Dept. Mathematics and Tactics, 1859-60.
Lieut. Scott Shipp, Dept. Latin and Tactics, 1859-60-61.
Lieut. W. H. Morgan, Dept. Mathematics and Tactics, 1860-1.
Lieut. O. C. Henderson, Dept. French and Tactics, 1859-60.
Lieut. J. D. H. Ross, Dept. French and Tactics, 1860-1.
Lieut. H. A. Wise, Dept. Mathematics and Tactics, 1862-3-4.
Lieut. T. B. Robinson, Dept. Mathematics and Tactics, 1862-3-4.
Lieut. L. Crittenden, Dept. Mathematics and Tactics, 1861-2.
Lieut. J. G. Miller, Dept. Mathematics and Tactics, 1862-3-4.
Lieut. A. S. Scott, Dept. Mathematics and Tactics, 1862-3.
Lieut. Frank Preston, Dept. Latin and Tactics, 1862-3-4.
Lieut. A. G. Hill, Dept. French and Tactics, 1862-3-4.
Capt. H. A. Wise, Dept. Mathematics and Tactics, 1864-5.
Capt. T. B. Robinson, Dept. Mathematics and Tactics, 1864-5.
Capt. A. G. Hill, Dept. French and Tactics, 1864-5.
Capt. Frank Preston, Dept. Latin and Tactics, 1864-5.
Lieut. R. A. Crawford, Dept. French and Tactics, 1863-4.
Lieut. J. E. Roller, Dept. Mathematics and Tactics, 1863-4.
Lieut. J. B. Prince, Dept. Mathematics and Tactics, 1863-4.
Lieut. E. D. Yancey, Dept. Mathematics and Tactics, 1863-4.
Lieut. C. Y. Steptoe, Dept. Mathematics and Tactics, 1864-5.

APPENDIX D

HEARING BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON CLAIMS, U. S. SENATE, SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION, ON S. 544

A BILL FOR THE RELIEF OF THE VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE, OF LEXINGTON, VA.

COMMITTEE ON CLAIMS

UNITED STATES SENATE

NATHAN P. BRYAN, Florida, *Chairman*

LEE S. OVERMAN, North Carolina
KEY PITTMAN, Nevada
JOSEPH T. ROBINSON, Arkansas
OLLIE M. JAMES, Kentucky
CHARLES F. JOHNSON, Maine
THOMAS S. MARTIN, Virginia
HARRY LANE, Oregon
COE I. CRAWFORD, South Dakota
JOSEPH L. BRISTOW, Kansas
WILLIAM O. BRADLEY, Kentucky
EDWIN C. BURLEIGH, Maine
NATHAN GOFF, West Virginia
GEORGE W. NORRIS, Nebraska

W. T. BAUSKETT, *Clerk*

VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE, LEXINGTON, VA.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1914

COMMITTEE ON CLAIMS,
UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10:30 o'clock A. M., pursuant to the call of the chairman.

Present: Senators Nathan P. Bryan (chairman), Martin, Johnson, Bradley, James, Pittman, Overman, Norris, and Burleigh.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator du Pont, we are met this morning to hear you on your bill, Senate 544, which is as follows:

[S. 544, Sixty-third Congress, first session]

A BILL—For the relief of the Virginia Military Institute, of Lexington, Virginia.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to pay to the Virginia Military Institute, of Lexington, Virginia, out of any money in

the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $214,723,62, in full of all claims of said Institute for the damage and destruction of its library, scientific apparatus, and the quarters of its professors in June, eighteen hundred and sixty-four, by the military authority of the United States. And the acceptance of the said sum by the said Institute shall be a complete and absolute bar to any and all claims for the damage and destruction of the property of said Institute by the armies of the United States.

The committee will be very glad to hear any statements you have to make in connection with it.

STATEMENT OF SENATOR H. A. DU PONT, OF DELAWARE

Senator DU PONT. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, the history of my connection with the bill under consideration is this: I was Chief of Artillery of Gen. Hunter's command, which was operating in the valley and took possession of Lexington on the 11th of June, 1864. Gen. Nichols, the Superintendent of the Virginia Military Institute, knowing this, came to see me and made some inquiries about the destruction of the property of the Institute at that time. Most of the buildings, with one exception, I think, were entirely burned down and destroyed by order of Gen. Hunter. I told Gen. Nichols that at the time I was very much opposed to the destruction of the Institute buildings, as I thought it was a wholly unnecessary destruction of private property and not justified by the rules of war, excepting so far as the destruction of the cadet barracks was concerned, which I thought was proper, and that this opinion was generally concurred in by all the officers with whom I came in contact. I remember, among others, that the late President McKinley, who was there, being one of the staff officers, expressed the same views, and that he and Capt. Prendergast, who was afterwards killed, and other officers, assisted me in carrying out furniture from some of the houses occupied by ladies, which were burned down, thereby saving it from destruction. We carried it out with our own hands.

After hearing what I had to say, Gen. Nichols asked me if I would introduce a bill for the relief of the Institute and mentioned that there was a precedent for such action in the case of the William and Mary College, for which there had been an appropriation made as compensation for damages sustained during the war. I told him that I was always ready to coöperate in any measure of right and justice, but that it struck me that the Virginia Senators were the proper people to introduce such a bill, and that I could not do so unless I conferred with them. After talking to them, they told me that they preferred that I should introduce the bill, as I had been present and had a personal knowledge of what had transpired, and, for this reason, they thought it was more appropriate that I should present it.

Under those circumstances I introduced the bill. I am not responsible for the amounts of the loss sustained by the Institute.

Those were given to me by Gen. Nichols, and I assumed them to be correct. He went over them with a great deal of care and showed me an itemized list, and I put the amount he gave in the bill.

Perhaps, in order that the committee may clearly understand the whole situation, it would be well to make a brief statement of the military operations carried on around the Institute. Gen. Hunter was moving down the valley with two divisions of troops, one of infantry and the other of cavalry. We left Winchester and moved south, with opposition of a trivial character, until we came to Mount Jackson, where Gen. Jones, who commanded the Confederate troops, was awaiting us in a strongly intrenched position. Instead of attacking that position, we made a flank movement to the left, crossed the James River at Port Republic, and then moved toward the village of Piedmont. Gen. Jones, ascertaining this, abandoned his position and met us at Piedmont where we fought a battle in which we came off victorious. That was on the 5th of June.

The CHAIRMAN. How far is Piedmont from Lexington?

Senator DU PONT. I am not aware of the distance. It is a day's march from Staunton to Lexington. I suppose it must be something like 40 miles.

Gen. NICHOLS. They say it is 86 miles from Staunton to Lexington.

Senator DU PONT. I think probably from Piedmont to Staunton must be 15 or 20 miles, and from Piedmont to Lexington must be at least 50 miles.

At Staunton we waited several days for the commands of Gen. Crook and Gen. Averell to join us there. They gave us four divisions of troops, two of infantry and two of cavalry, and we resumed our march southward. Our force was very much larger than any that the Confederates could bring against us, but they resisted our advance at various places by small detachments, more for the purpose of observation than with the idea of giving us battle. Finally we arrived, on the 11th of June, opposite Lexington, on the other side of the river, which I think they called the North Fork of the James.

Senator MARTIN. North River.

Senator DU PONT. There we found some troops in occupation of the buildings. Directly opposite us the nearest building, as I recall it, was the cadet barracks.

Senator JOHNSON. The buildings of the Institute?

Senator DU PONT. Yes. Some of the enemy in that building were firing from the windows at our skirmishers, and finally they fired a cannon. Then Gen. Hunter ordered me to send a battery to reply. I sent the regular battery, which fired six shots, with deliberation, at the cadet building.

The CHAIRMAN. The Institute barracks?

Senator DU PONT. Yes; I meant to say barracks. After firing six shots we received an order to discontinue firing, because, as I understood it, the enemy had evacuated the town of Lexington.

We crossed over and took possession and remained there the following day, the 12th, and I am not very clear whether we moved away on the 13th or 14th. I do not think we left until the 14th.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the destruction of these buildings, Senator?

Senator DU PONT. I am just coming to that, Mr. Chairman. Gen. Hunter, thereupon, the next day, issued various orders. One was that all the buildings of the Institute were to be burned to the ground. Another directed me, as Chief of Artillery, to destroy—a most ridiculous thing—some old trophies that were there, one or two old French guns, among others, and all entirely useless.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you get to that, Senator, what damage, if any, was done to the buildings of the Virginia Military Institute when you fired on the barracks and when resistance was being made at the barracks? What damage, if any, was done to the buildings of the Institute?

Senator DU PONT. Some of our shots went through the building, but I did not ascertain personally what the damage was.

The CHAIRMAN. You went over there the next day?

Senator DU PONT. I did not examine particularly, but I saw that the shots had passed through the building, and I have heard since that they did considerable damage.

The CHAIRMAN. Through the barracks?

Senator DU PONT. Through the barracks.

Senator BRADLEY. I just heard an expression as I came in here, made by you, with regard to your thinking that there was no good reason to destroy these buildings, except some portion of them?

Senator DU PONT. Except the cadet barracks.

Senator BRADLEY. Are the barracks included in this item?

Senator DU PONT. No; they are not. I particularly excepted them when I introduced the bill.

The order to destroy the buildings was given. The buildings consisted of a library, philosophical and scientific apparatus, the professors' houses, and various minor structures.

My opinion was that the barracks should be destroyed under the laws of war for the reason that the cadets who occupied those barracks were in the field and had met us at the Battle of New Market and that they were the quarters of a hostile force, even though composed of boys; but I saw no reason why the buildings of the Institute devoted to educational purposes should be burned down. That was the general opinion of everybody there except Gen. Hunter. I know that that was the late President McKinley's opinion.

The CHAIRMAN. When the other buildings were destroyed, these buildings besides the barracks, there was no armed resistance to the Army of the United States, was there?

Senator DU PONT. No. From the time we occupied the town every one had disappeared.

The CHAIRMAN. In what way were the buildings destroyed?

Senator DU PONT. They were set on fire and burned down. They were all wooden buildings except the barracks, which was of stone. I think that was the more permanent building. The others were mostly wooden buildings.

Senator MARTIN. There may have been some brick buildings?

Senator DU PONT. There may have been some brick buildings.

Senator JOHNSON. Were you fired upon from the barracks?

Senator DU PONT. A few shots; that is to say, our troops were fired upon. We were fired upon not only from the barracks, but from the open. As we moved south our advance was resisted, as I said before, more for the purpose of observation than of giving battle. It was not at Lexington alone, but wherever there was a good place from which the Confederates could make a slight resistance, they did it—which was proper and right. It was according to the laws of war, and our side would have done the same thing.

Senator JOHNSON. You destroyed the garrison of a hostile force, if the barracks in question could be understood to be such?

Senator DU PONT. I do not quite understand your question.

Senator JOHNSON. I say, you destroyed the garrison of a hostile force?

Senator DU PONT. The barracks; yes.

Senator JOHNSON. Was not this military institute furnishing troops for the field against you?

Senator DU PONT. They were in the field at the Battle of New Market.

Senator JOHNSON. Were the cadets in the firing party?

Senator DU PONT. I do not know. I only know there were some shots fired, but I do not know who the parties were who fired them. As I understand it, the Battalion of Cadets were not really a part of the Confederate forces in the field. They were there under instruction, but when we advanced into their territory they were turned out to defend the immediate neighborhood, or to assist in defending it.

Senator JAMES. You say there was no necessity for destroying the property at all?

Senator DU PONT. I do not think so. That was my judgment then, and it is my judgment now. It did no good. The moment we destroyed the barracks there was no place for the cadets to live, unless they went into tents. They could live in tents anywhere.

Senator BRADLEY. Did you see anything of Senator Martin among those cadets?

Senator DU PONT. I did not. Strange to say, the only cadet of the Virginia Military Institute that I have ever seen in uniform, although I had been in battle against them, was a young man who came to West Point when I was there wearing his military uniform. I think he was the adjutant of the Virginia Military Institute. He attracted a good deal of attention.

The CHAIRMAN. If Senator Martin was there he was out of sight when you got across the river?

Senator DU PONT. I did not see him.

Senator MARTIN. I was not at all anxious to be conspicuous against men like Senator du Pont.

Senator NORRIS. I would like to ask the Senator a question. I wish to get clear in my mind the distinguishing feature between the barracks and this Institution and any other building connected with it, whether or not it was a professor's house or a building where the students recited or where the professors instructed the cadets. I want to get in my mind what your idea of the difference is.

Senator DU PONT. I will try to answer the question. I knew something about the general scope of the Institute, because it so happened that the former superintendent was a classmate and an old friend of my father's. I had seen him when I was a child at my home in Delaware several times. I had heard my father speak of the Institute and knew about its general purpose. It was a military school only so far as the instruction and discipline of the pupils were concerned. Its purpose, as I understood it, was to educate teachers for the State of Virginia. A certain number of boys were given a free education there in consideration of their teaching for a certain term of years within the State of Virginia. It was not the only institution of the kind in the country; there were numbers of them in the United States—several in New England. There was one near Philadelphia as long ago as 1807 or 1808, conducted by a man named Roumfort. In those days, you know, there were no athletics, and a great many people thought that the military exercises improved the boys physically and served to keep them out of mischief. That was the idea of all these schools. It was not for the purpose of educating the pupils to fight. We never thought of such a thing when I was a child.

Senator NORRIS. In that connection, then, your idea is that it was at least nothing like West Point or Annapolis?

Senator DU PONT. Not at all; totally different.

Senator NORRIS. Was it owned by the State of Virginia?

Senator DU PONT. I believe it was under the patronage of the State of Virginia, and encouraged by it. I do not know the exact relations. I know the State of Virginia had certain authority, and I think they did something for them financially. My impression is—Gen. Nichols can correct me if I am in error—that the most of

the students paid their way as in any other school, but there was a certain number of pupils that the State of Virginia paid for in consideration of their teaching.

Senator MARTIN. The State owns it, and, under the law, it is permitted to receive donations; and I suppose there are certain endowments contributed by private people for this purpose of advancing the cause of education.

Senator NORRIS. I judged from the bill that this appropriation is requested for a private school.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a corporation under the laws of Virginia.

Senator MARTIN. The money would go to this Institution.

Senator NORRIS. It would go to the State of Virginia.

Senator JOHNSON. The State of Virginia owns the buildings now?

Senator MARTIN. Gen. Nichols, when he comes before the committee, will explain that. My understanding is that it is still owned in a sense by the State of Virginia, but it is created by law, with certain rights and privileges for the purpose of advancing the cause of education, and donations are constantly made to its library, to its scientific apparatus, and to its several departments.

Senator JOHNSON. The State makes appropriations also?

Senator MARTIN. The State makes some appropriations; for instance, as Senator du Pont has explained, with reference to paying the expenses of certain pupils with the understanding that they shall serve the State as teachers for a certain term.

Senator DU PONT. And they are required to do so?

Senator MARTIN. Yes.

Senator DU PONT. Will you allow me to supplement my statement, Mr. Chairman? I have some definite information now. I stated that we arrived in Lexington, that is, the Union forces, on the 11th of June, 1864. The buildings were burned on the 12th of June, 1864, the next day. We stayed there two days, as I thought. We moved toward Buchanan on the 14th. I have sent for Gen. Hunter's report.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator, is there any other statement you care to make?

Senator SWANSON. Do you recall whether there was a protest by you or any other officer against the burning of the buildings at the time?

Senator DU PONT. There was no protest, except the expression of opinion among ourselves.

Senator BRADLEY. You did not dare to make a protest, did you?

Senator DU PONT. It would be a very unmilitary thing to do. A soldier has to obey orders. He has a perfect right, however, to have his own opinion.

Senator BRADLEY. But not to express it, perhaps, to the general?

Senator DU PONT. He has a right to express his opinion in a proper way to his comrades.

Senator OVERMAN. Did you burn those buildings?

Senator DU PONT. No, sir; they were burned by order of Gen. Hunter.

Senator JAMES. What was the general's idea in burning those buildings.

Senator DU PONT. The general was a very peculiar man. His father was a Virginian. [Laughter.] That did not make him a peculiar man. But, if you will allow me to finish my sentence, his mother was from Princeton, N. J.; his father was a clergyman. I do not think he was in pleasant relations with his Southern relatives, of which there were a great number. He had a most extraordinary idea of how to put an end to armed resistance.

Senator MARTIN. To put an end to the rebellion?

Senator DU PONT. Yes, sir.

Senator MARTIN. I am not sensitive about that.

Senator DU PONT. Call it rebellion, then, or anything you please. He was a man of very strong prejudices, exceedingly strong, and he began operations by burning his cousin's house at Charles Town. Why he did that I can not imagine. When we were operating in the valley, which, as you know, is between two chains of mountains, a valley from 15 to 80 miles wide, the mountains were occupied by Mosby's guerrillas, whose business it was to try to intercept our trains as they moved down. They had to be escorted by convoys, and if they thought the convoy were rather weak, they would swoop down upon them and sometimes succeed in capturing the train.

Gen. Hunter's idea was—and you could not get it out of his head—that the people who were doing this resided in the towns nearby, and that the way to stop the practice was to burn down the towns near the points where our trains were attacked. The truth was that Mosby's command consisted of picked men from all over the South, and I do not suppose that 10 per cent of them lived in the valley there. I recollect that Gen. Hunter sent a body of cavalry to burn Newtown, a large village, on the ground that a train had been attacked within a short distance of the place. The officer in command, having been moved by the tears and lamentations of the women and children, did not carry out his instructions, and Gen. Hunter ordered him to be dismissed from the service. The burning of private houses always seemed to strongly appeal to him.

Upon our retreat from Lynchburg, across the mountains to the Kanawha Valley, 100 miles away from any scene of military operations, we arrived at the White Sulphur Springs. We had been pursued by the Confederates but the enemy had ceased his pursuit and we stopped there one day to rest, as we were very much exhausted.

I heard that the general had ordered the place to be burned down. The buildings comprised an immense hotel with rows of cottages in every direction, and could accommodate several thousand people. Going to headquarters about noon, after a few remarks, I said to the general: "I hear you have ordered these buildings to be burned down?" He said: "Yes; they are all to be burned." Although I believed this to be a wanton and criminal destruction of private property, knowing the man as I did I thought it was useless to appeal to him on any such grounds, so I said, very quietly: "General, do you not think that it would be a military mistake?" He said: "What do you mean?" "I mean this," I said: "If hereafter we have to occupy this country this is quite a strategic point, as a good many roads converge here, and we would find quarters for a brigade of cavalry all ready, which would have many advantages for us." He looked at me a minute and said: "Well, I had not thought of that," and then called his adjutant-general and told him to cancel the order.

That is the way in which the buildings at the White Sulphur Springs were saved; and that is the kind of man Gen. Hunter was. He was absolutely unreasonable.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything further, Senator?

Senator DU PONT. I will make one statement, which I omitted. Gen. Hunter excepted the house of the Superintendent of the Virginia Military Institute on the ground that there was sickness in the family. He said that at Mrs. Smith's house there was illness and that her house was not to be burned. He excepted that.

STATEMENT OF GEN. E. W. NICHOLS, SUPERINTENDENT OF THE VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE

The CHAIRMAN. General, will you kindly give your name to the stenographer?

Gen. NICHOLS. Gen. E. W. Nichols, Superintendent of the Virginia Military Institute.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been connected with the Virginia Military Institute.

Gen. NICHOLS. This is my fortieth year.

The CHAIRMAN. We shall be glad to hear any statement you may care to make.

Gen. NICHOLS. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, there was a bill introduced at the last session of Congress which was not considered by the Claims Committee. That legislation was recommended to the present Congress. The brief giving all the facts is now in the possession of the committee.

I should like to add these telegrams to the record in the case.

This is a telegram from Col. J. M. Schoonmaker, who destroyed the property under orders of Gen. Hunter and destroyed it under

protest. I had hoped to have him here to appear before the committee, but unfortunately he made his arrangements to go South. He has promised that he will appear at any time that will suit the convenience of the committee on his return. He will, however, present a statement in writing.

I telegraphed him as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 5, 1914.

COL. J. M. SCHOONMAKER,
Ellsworth and Morewood Avenues, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Senate Claims Committee is having hearings on Senator du Pont's bill to reimburse Virginia Military Institute for destruction of library, scientific apparatus, and academic buildings by order of Gen. Hunter during Civil War. Du Pont suggests that I ask whether you could appear before committee Saturday 10 A. M. If not then, could you come later? Answer Ebbitt House, Washington.

E. W. NICHOLS,
Superintendent.

His reply is as follows:

PITTSBURGH, PA., February 6, 1914.

E. W. NICHOLS,
Ebbitt House, Washington, D. C.

Answering your wire even date, I regret advising my inability to appear before committee Saturday, having arranged to leave to-morrow on Southern trip to be absent balance of month. Any time, however, in future, after my return, that I can be of service to you in direction indicated, will gladly do so.

J. M. SCHOONMAKER.

The original telegram and the reply, Mr. Chairman, I would like to file with the committee, as also my telegram of February 5th to Senator Culberson, and his reply thereto of February 6th. I will read them.

FEBRUARY 5, 1914.

SENATOR CHARLES A. CULBERSON,
San Antonio, Texas.

Hearing on Senator du Pont's bill to reimburse Virginia Military Institute for losses sustained by burning during Civil War. As a graduate of Institution I wish to appeal to you to wire me, my expense, Ebbitt Hotel, Washington, strong statement in support of bill and record of Institution to be read to committee Saturday, February 7th, 10 A. M. Friends of Institute active. Gen. Wood, United States Army, will appear before committee in support of bill. Your support will greatly help Senator Bryan, chairman of committee.

Have been distressed by your sickness, and earnestly hope for your restoration to health.

E. W. NICHOLS,
Superintendent.

SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS, February 6, 1914.

GEN. E. W. NICHOLS,
Ebbitt House, Washington, D. C.

Your telegram is received, and I am gratified that efforts are being made to pass the du Pont bill without reference to any legal questions

which may be involved in the bill. Its passage would be a generous and praiseworthy act to reimburse the Institute for its great loss by fire during the Civil War at the hands of the Federal forces. The school is one of the finest in the country, ranked only by West Point, and, as war is not waged against institutions of learning, this reimbursement for property destroyed in the great conflict will be another indication that only the heroism and sacrifices of the two sections of the Union ought to be perpetuated.

C. A. CULBERSON.

Mr. Chairman, there are, briefly, only two points from a standpoint of equity and law on which this claim for restitution is based. The first is the destruction of educational property in accordance with the usages of civilized warfare. Second, in the destruction of this property, from an educational point of view, with its educational facilities, its library, its professors' quarters, its scientific apparatus, its chemical laboratories, its mineralogical cabinets, its geological cabinets, and the various paraphernalia incident to educational institutions, was not such destruction in direct conflict with President Lincoln's orders to his commanders in the field?

I think both of those statements can be substantiated as being in conflict both with the usages of civilized warfare and in direct conflict with the orders of President Lincoln.

Senator JOHNSON. General, are you familiar with the work of the Institution during the war?

Gen. NICHOLS. Entirely; yes, sir.

Senator JOHNSON. You were not then connected with it?

Gen. NICHOLS. No, sir; I was born in 1858.

Senator JOHNSON. Was its work then the same as that pursued afterwards?

Gen. NICHOLS. The educational work was continued throughout.

Senator JOHNSON. Was it not in fitting young men to take the field, and particularly giving military instruction?

Gen. NICHOLS. In part, and in large part.

Senator JOHNSON. Was not that its chief purpose?

Gen. NICHOLS. No; I would not say it was its chief purpose. It was an educational institution, and was founded as an educational institution; but at that time it was a military institution, called "the West Point of the South," to which hundreds of young men from the South came. It turned out hundreds of young men who went into the service of the Confederate Army. It was engaged as an organization and called out on several occasions to repel riots. On one occasion it took an active part in the operations against Federal forces, and in one operation, of 250 men, 20 per cent of their number were killed or wounded. It was not the intention of Gen. Breckinridge to put this body of boys in that battle. They were put in the third lines, but having the hot heads of youth, they could not be kept there, and got into the front line and lost heavily.

Putting that military feature apart, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I would like to say that I am not here for the

Institution in any light except as an applicant for restitution as an educational institution. That military feature of it is something absolutely aside. I would be recreant to every better feeling of my nature, recreant to every tradition of that Institution, if I did not say, sir, that so far as the fighting was concerned, we are glad we did fight and sorry that we were not more successful. But I want to say that there is not an institution in this land that would more quickly and more gladly furnish men to the common country and for the common flag than this Institution which I represent. But that is all aside, sir. It is a question of the educational features of the Institution.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you this question before you go further: Did the Institution continue to instruct its classes during the war?

Gen. NICHOLS. Yes, sir; continuously.

The CHAIRMAN. It was in operation, then, at the time of its destruction; it had classes?

Gen. NICHOLS. Yes, sir; at the Battle of New Market, which occurred on the 15th of May, the young men were sent from that battle to Richmond, and they were ordered back to Lexington to resume their academic work, reaching Lexington about the 10th of June, or just a day or two before the Federal forces attacked the place.

The CHAIRMAN. Did that constitute the entire student body?

Gen. NICHOLS. Yes, sir; the entire student body.

Senator NORRIS. What year was that?

Gen. NICHOLS. 1864.

The CHAIRMAN. Until 1864, then, these students had not been sent out, as a body, into the Army?

Gen. NICHOLS. No, sir; they had been called on from time to time to go out and repel riots. They went to Covington on one occasion, but they were never in conflict with any body of troops except on that occasion. They were called again in the winter of 1865 to Richmond. There were educational facilities going on then and being taught there.

It is interesting to note that they were the only body of troops between Richmond and the Federal forces on the 3d of April. The forces, of course, did not know it, but they were in pits outside the city, and they were called in and disbanded in Richmond and they went to their homes. The Institution resumed its operations again in the fall.

There is another point of view, Mr. Chairman, with reference to this service of the Institution, and I would like to emphasize that point—the service of the Institution, past and present.

The Institution was founded as an educational institution in 1839, and in the Mexican War, in 1846, that Institution had 14

officers in the United States service. It had more officers in the United States service in that war than all other institutions of a military character in the United States combined, West Point, of course, excepted.

In the War between the States, whilst there was, of course, a larger number of these men in the Confederate Army as officers—major-generals, brigadier-generals, colonels, etc.—there were some of them that were officers in the Federal Army. Since the war the Institution has had, and has now, more officers in the United States Army as commissioned officers than all other civil institutions with a military feature attached in the United States combined, except, of course, West Point.

It had more officers in the Spanish-American War than all other military institutions in the United States combined—military institutions or civil-military institutions. This information I get from the Chief of Staff of the Army. To-day the Institute is furnishing, as it has during the past several years, more men to the National Guard throughout the country than all other institutions of the country combined. The Institute is not a local institution. It has 40 states represented and 5 foreign countries. The number of applicants is largely in excess of its ability to accommodate.

Last year it had the distinction of graduating a man who took the Jackson-Hope medal, a medal combining military and civil qualifications. This was taken by a young man from Yonkers, N. Y. The second man in the class of last year was a man from Iowa. He received the alternative appointment from the Institute to the United States Army. He did not receive the direct appointment, but he is now an officer in the service of the United States in its Marine Corps. We have young men from Massachusetts, California, from all the border states on the north, and from the Western States. In other words, 40 states of the 48 that constitute the Union were represented there last year.

Those young men are going out into the National Guard of the country; and I want to say this, that there is a movement here in the War Department, one in which all of us are interested, to form a reserve corps in case of this country's need, either for aggressive or defensive operations. I am perfectly sure that there is no single interest that the War Department is more interested in fostering than this Institution, because we are sending out young men trained under the West Point system, having had four years of rigid military life, who are abundantly able by experience and instruction to take charge of volunteers if volunteers are called into the service.

I am glad to say that Gen. Wood has expressed not only his willingness, but his desire, if called, to appear before this committee and tell you of the service the Institution is rendering to the General Government.

Gentlemen, here is a body of men, representative men from our common country, happily now united. This claim is based simply upon the destruction of the property of that Institution as an educational institution. You will not misunderstand me when I say that whilst it is true that those of the alumni of that Institution, if called to serve their common country now, would flock to the colors as a man, I want to emphasize the fact, with all the feeling that is in me, with all the pride of traditions connected with that Institution and as a representative of the alumni, that we have no apologies to make, sir, for anything that was done by that Institution during the Civil War.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask you one or two questions about the amount carried in the bill. There is an item here of $82,892.78 for interest. It is not customary to pay any interest on these claims. The interest is based, I should say, on 6 per cent on $137,000. I presume that amount represents the value of the buildings at the time of their destruction. Will you indicate to the committee how the amount of a hundred and twenty-eight thousand and odd dollars, which is claimed to be the amount charged to the building account on the treasurer's books from June, 1866, to June, 1873, is arrived at?

Gen. NICHOLS. Yes, sir. Unfortunately, in the destruction of the property the archives were also destroyed in 1864. In the burning of the buildings all the old books were destroyed, and the only way we could get at that was from a report by Col. Walter H. Taylor, who was a member of our Board of Visitors. He was Chief of Staff, you will recall, to Gen. Lee—one of the high-minded men of the State. There was also Col. Beall. That committee was the finance committee of our Board of Visitors. They made a report in 1872, giving the cost of reconstruction. We had no means of getting at the actual cost, because the property had accumulated there for 25 years. I put all the facts that we had in this report of Col. Taylor in the hands of the old treasurer of the Institute, who came there as treasurer in 1872—Maj. Thomas M. Wade—and asked him to make up that report from the books that were available and from the reports of the finance committee of the Board of Visitors. That report is a report by him, and as to details of it, sir, I am frank to say, I am perfectly ignorant. I do not know anything about it, except that the old treasurer made up the report.

The CHAIRMAN. One other question. Do you place the cost of the buildings that were erected after the destruction of the former buildings by Gen. Hunter at the actual cost?

Gen. NICHOLS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they better buildings than those which were destroyed?

Gen. NICHOLS. They were built on the same foundations. They are all brick buildings with stone trimmings.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator du Pont said that his recollection was that all the buildings except the barracks were frame or wooden buildings?

Gen. NICHOLS. The Senator is mistaken. There are no frame buildings on the ground.

The CHAIRMAN. What were they?

Gen. NICHOLS. They were brick buildings with stone trimmings.

Senator DU PONT. I had forgotten that. I thought they were probably frame.

Gen. NICHOLS. No, sir; no frame buildings.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever learned, and if so, can you state the number of buildings destroyed?

Gen. NICHOLS. There were four buildings.

The CHAIRMAN. Were the barracks which were destroyed built on the same foundation as the present barracks?

Gen. NICHOLS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And covered as much space?

Gen. NICHOLS. Yes, sir; covered as much space as when you were a student there. We have added to the buildings since then.

Senator NORRIS. Was the material of the old buildings used in the construction of the new?

Gen. NICHOLS. Yes, sir; as far as it could be. The cost of material in the reconstruction period, after the war, was very high, as was everything else. It was difficult to obtain.

Senator NORRIS. The brick and the stone, or a great share of it, of course, could be used again, and was, I presume.

Gen. NICHOLS. All that could be used was used; yes, sir.

Senator NORRIS. In estimating the amount, is that taken into consideration? Is there any credit given for the material that was afterwards used?

Gen. NICHOLS. I really could not tell you, Senator. That is a report of the finance committee and the Board of Visitors, based upon the Superintendent's reports in a general way. In those reports of the old Superintendent he would have charged up even $1.25 for labor for a day and every little item entering into the thing. As to whether credit was given for the old material, I can not say.

Mr. FLOOD. General, is not this a statement of the cost of reconstruction?

Gen. NICHOLS. Yes, sir.

Senator MARTIN. Actual expenditures?

Gen. NICHOLS. I suppose that they would be.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to state in the hearings at this point, that if interest be excluded the total amount of the claim would be $137,821.81.

STATEMENT OF MAJ.-GEN. LEONARD WOOD, CHIEF OF STAFF, UNITED STATES ARMY

Gen. WOOD. I should be very glad to answer any questions I can about the Virginia Military Institute, Mr. Chairman.

I can say that we in the service regard that Institution as being, next to West Point, the best military school in the country. We consider it to be a very valuable military asset, both in the way of training officers for the regular service, and in training men who would be available as officers in case of necessity. It is an institution which for a considerable number of years has been what we call our star institution. I have had occasion to see a good deal of the work of its officers, both in this country and in the Philippines and Cuba; and while I had personally never seen anything of the Institute until a few years ago, I had formed a very high opinion of the efficiency of its graduates, and I feel that in the Army we look upon the Virginia Military Institute as about the best of our military schools, and we are always glad to get hold of its officers. They are men that are well disciplined and well instructed, and so far as I have seen anything of them they are very high-class men, and they speak well for the Institution, and the instruction they receive.

Senator JAMES. It furnished a good many officers in the War with Spain, did it not?

Gen. WOOD. It furnished a considerable number, Senator. I could not tell you offhand how many. But it began to supply officers to the country, I think, with the Mexican War; there were 10 or 11, and, of course, a good many in the Civil War, some being on the Northern side; a considerable number, I think.

I think the Institute draws its pupils from all over the country. It is very democratic, and the expenses are remarkably low, considering the type of the school and the high standards maintained.

In the War with Spain there were a considerable number of officers from that Institution. I remember two who came under my personal observation. One was a most capable engineer, so capable that he was made the chief engineer for important research work in the eastern half of Cuba. He displayed really very great capacity. He is now captain in the Eleventh Cavalry, I think. The other one was young Longstreet. He was down there in the early days. He also was a very capable officer. Those two came under my personal observation. All of them have been a good lot of men.

Senator PITTMAN. Are you familiar with the history of the destruction of these buildings?

Gen. WOOD. Only in a very general way, sir. I know they were destroyed during the war, but I know nothing of the details.

Senator PITTMAN. For the purpose of ascertaining something of the usages of civilized nations in warfare, I should like to know if it is in accordance with such usages to destroy institutions of learning?

Gen. WOOD. I should say not.

Senator PITTMAN. Even if those institutions be military in character, purely?

Gen. WOOD. That, Senator, would be a pretty difficult question to answer.

Senator NORRIS. I would like to inquire of you, General: Suppose the Confederate forces had captured West Point, would they have been justified in destroying the buildings of the military institute there?

Gen. WOOD. No, sir; I would not say so.

Senator NORRIS. That would be contrary to the recognized principle that prevails in civilized warfare, would it not?

Gen. WOOD. I would say it would be rather outside that principle. Of course we come to a rather narrow dividing line, as to whether it is a means of successfully carrying on the war through the instruction of officers.

Senator NORRIS. I presume that is the question, and I think it is involved in this case.

Gen. WOOD. Yes, sir; but I should doubt the propriety of the destruction of an institution of that sort, because it would involve, for instance, the destruction of all our colleges where the military art is taught. That would be the next step. All our agricultural and mechanical colleges in the country would be subject to destruction, under the same general rules. I think the answer would be, No.

Senator NORRIS. I should hardly think you would class an agricultural college with a military institution.

Gen. WOOD. I refer to those colleges where they maintain organized regiments of trained men as commissioned officers. Take the Ohio State University, for instance. It maintains a regiment of from thirteen to fifteen hundred men. The number varies. Those men are all being trained so as to be available in time of need.

Senator NORRIS. We have right here in the District organizations in high schools. They are military organizations, but I do not suppose any one would claim that the high schools of the District were military institutions of that kind.

Gen. WOOD. No; I think the Virginia Military Institute is not a military institution. It is a school of broad general culture and engineering skill.

Mr. FLOOD. The Virginia Military Institute was an agricultural school prior to the Civil War.

Senator MARTIN. If you will excuse me just for an interruption there. I do not suppose that there is one-fiftieth of the time of the school devoted to military training at the Virginia Military Institute. The time is almost all devoted to literary and scientific work, and the time actually given to the art of war is very small as compared with the whole time.

Gen. NICHOLS. It is not designed to prepare men for the profession of arms. That was never its object. It was designed as an educational institution. It has this military feature attached to it, and the system is patterned after the system at West Point. It was founded by West Point men, and the military feature is an element of education. Under that system men learn to do life's duty properly, thoroughly, and efficiently. They learn to obey, and hence they learn to command. Then, take the democratic feature of the life; they are all dressed in the same uniform and rub elbows with each other. The men take their places in the world in advantageous circumstances. All those are educational features. True, as this record shows, the Institution does prepare men for the profession of arms; but that is an incident.

Senator NORRIS. I am very interested in knowing what the facts were at the time of its destruction. I do not care particularly what it does now; but at that time, for instance, was every student who was admitted there trained in military affairs? Was that one of the necessary things?

Gen. NICHOLS. It was.

Senator JOHNSON. I am asked to vote for damages for this Institution because of the destruction of its property—the property of an educational institution. Attention is called to its library and its scientific apparatus. Of course, I would like to know what work this Institution was doing during the Civil War and at this particular time. Its character may have been different before or since the war.

Senator MARTIN. If you will excuse me for interrupting—I was there at that time. It was doing educational work then just as it is now, except I have no doubt it has progressed, just as all institutions of learning have made advances and progress. But the Virginia Military Institute at that time was doing work on exactly the same line that it is doing work now. I mean, during the war, at the very time of its destruction, the educational features were maintained and pursued with the same regularity and diligence as before and at the present time.

Senator JOHNSON. But the young men were called out to repel invasions, and they took part in one or two battles as a force from that Institution.

Senator MARTIN. There is a military feature, and a very valuable one, that has been shown here.

Senator JOHNSON. I mean at that particular time.

Senator MARTIN. And it is exactly the same now.

Senator JOHNSON. They were called out and formed part of the Confederate forces, and took part in the war——

Senator MARTIN. And they are ready to respond right now. They have had a training that fits them for that duty.

Senator JOHNSON. I understand that, but I am only getting at what the real facts were at the time when they were classed as hostiles.

Senator PITTMAN. That Institution was not conducted during that period, or at any time, with the one particular object in view of supplying the Confederate Army with soldiers.

Senator MARTIN. Its organization did not change at all during the Civil War. It was no more a military school during the Civil War than it was 10 years before the war.

Senator BRADLEY. Was there any more time devoted to military training during that period than was devoted to it before the war or has been since the war?

Senator MARTIN. Not one bit; in my judgment.

The CHAIRMAN. It was just the same?

Senator MARTIN. Just the same.

Mr. FLOOD. The University of Virginia equipped a company at the same time.

Senator MARTIN. Yes; but they had not the training that this Institution had.

Senator NORRIS. I think there is a distinction between a college with the military feature attached as the principal thing and one in which it is only incidental.

Senator MARTIN. For the information of the Senator and of the committee, as a cadet there during the war, at the very time it was destroyed I was in sight of it, and I can say that at that time the military feature was no more conspicuous than it had been before the war, and no more conspicuous than it has been since the war ended. It was going along with its regular systematic training of young men as it has been doing since the war, and it was not changed during the war.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it would be valuable to have Gen. Wood put into the record at this point the requirements of land-grant colleges.

Is it not a fact, General, that in every land-grant college, under the act of 1862, military instruction is required?

Gen. WOOD. That is my understanding, sir; that it is required. There is no specified amount.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you will find that at least three hours of drill per week are required. That is the minimum requirement. Some have more.

Gen. WOOD. We are now looking into that, Senator. It was recommended that the War Department take up the supervision and regulation of those courses, and the argument was advanced that the colleges were established in order to prevent the condition which was found to exist at the beginning of the Civil War; that one of the main objects was that there might be officers prepared to command volunteers in case of any trouble.

The CHAIRMAN. There is a commandant at each land-grant college, is there not?

Gen. WOOD. Yes, sir; which has a military feature varying from the minimum which you mention to a maximum.

There is one thing I might say, with your permission, sir, about the Virginia Military Institute. I spoke of it as a school which was devoted largely to engineering and civil sciences of various descriptions. It is also my recollection that the boys who receive the benefit of training at the Virginia Military Institute through State appointments are required to teach in the schools of Virginia for a number of years afterwards to compensate the State for the money expended on their education. I think that its formation as an organization is not dissimilar to Norwich University, in New England, which sent some seven hundred of its graduates into the war as officers and non-commissioned officers. There we have a distinct military organization, and yet it is in every essential a college or educational institution training men for civil life.

Senator PITTMAN. General, just one other question. You have heard the statement of the facts by Senator Martin with regard to the condition of the Virginia Military Institute at the time of its destruction and the character of its work. Are you willing to give it as your opinion that the destruction, under such circumstances, was unnecessary and not in accordance with the general usages of civilized nations in war?

Gen. WOOD. I should say that it was not in accordance with the usage of civilized nations in war. I should regard it very much as I should regard the destruction of Norwich University if the Confederates had gotten up into that part of the country and destroyed it.

Senator NORRIS. Have you examined the records? I should think there ought to be a report from Gen. Hunter and the other men who destroyed the buildings.

Gen. WOOD. I have not. I came up this morning to testify as to the general character of the institution and its standing in the Army.

Senator NORRIS. It seems to me that it would be a good thing to have the official report of the destruction. Senator du Pont stated that it was done under protest. I think that ought to be in the records of the War Department.

Gen. WOOD. If the committee would like to have them, I will make a search.

Senator MARTIN. I should hardly suppose you could find such a record. I suppose it would be a breach of discipline for a subordinate to protest under such circumstances.

Senator NORRIS. I understood the Senator to say that he carried out the instructions under protest.

Senator MARTIN. Verbally, to his superior officer—that he did not think it ought to be done. But I should hardly think it was consistent with military discipline for a subordinate to file a written protest against his superior officer.

Gen. NICHOLS. Probably Senator du Pont would know more about that side of the question.

Senator DU PONT. If the committee will permit me to interrupt, I would be glad to read an extract from Gen. Hunter's report.

Senator BRADLEY. What book have you there, Senator?

Senator DU PONT. I am reading from the House Miscellaneous Documents, first session, Fifty-second Congress, 1891-92, volume 18, containing Gen. Hunter's report of his operations. I would like, with the committee's permission, to read that part of the report referring to the destruction of the military institute:

On the 12th I also burned the Virginia Military Institute and all the buildings connected with it. I found here a violent and inflammatory proclamation from John Letcher, lately governor of Virginia, inciting the population of the country to rise and wage a guerrilla warfare on my troops, and, ascertaining that after having advised his fellow-citizens to this course the ex-governor had himself ignominiously taken to flight, I ordered his property to be burned under my order, published May 24th, against persons practicing or abetting such unlawful and uncivilized warfare.

Senator MARTIN. Excuse me for saying right there that of course that was written in the excitement of the war. I do not believe we would attribute to Gov. Letcher any ignominious flight under any circumstances.

Senator DU PONT. I read this because Senator Norris wanted the official report. That is all there is in the records about the matter.

Senator MARTIN. With the shells of Senator du Pont flying around, it is likely that they got out as fast as they could, but I do not think I could exactly admit that it was an ignominious flight.

Senator BRADLEY. It was a hurried departure?

Senator MARTIN. That is it—a leave-taking.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything further to bring before the committee on this subject?

Senator MARTIN. I do not think there is. I believe there is nothing that I desire to add to anything that has been said. I think that ends the hearing, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. We will adjourn at this time.

(Whereupon, at 11:45 o'clock A. M., the committee adjourned.)

APPENDIX E

PREPARED BY JOS. R. ANDERSON.

CONFEDERATE OFFICERS FROM THE VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE

MAJOR-GENERALS

Robert E. Rodes. (Killed in battle.)
William Mahone.
W. Y. C. Humes.
Total, 3.

BRIGADIER-GENERALS

Gabriel C. Wharton.
John Echols.
R. Lindsay Walker.
R. E. Colston.
J. R. Jones.
Samuel Garland. (Killed in battle.)
William H. Payne. (Seriously wounded.)
William R. Terry. (Seriously wounded.)
A. C. Jones.
A. J. Vaughan. (Lost a leg.)
Thomas T. Munford.
James A. Walker.
James H. Lane.
John McCausland.
James B. Terrill. (Killed in battle.)
Birkett D. Fry. (Seriously wounded.)
James E. Slaughter.
Total, 17.

Colonels	92
Lieutenant-Colonels	64
Majors	107
Captains	306
Lieutenants	221

In the above are included:

General R. L. Walker, Chief of Artillery, Army of Northern Virginia.

Colonel Stapleton Crutchfield, Chief of Artillery, Stonewall Jackson's Corps.

Colonel Thomas H. Carter, Chief of Artillery, Early's Army.

Colonel Briscoe G. Baldwin, Chief of Ordnance, Army of Northern Virginia.

Colonel Walter H. Taylor, Adjutant-General to General R. E. Lee.

Colonel Edwin J. Harvie, Inspector General to General Joseph E. Johnston.

Lieutenant-Colonel R. P. Chew, Chief of Horse Artillery, Army of Northern Virginia.

Major Giles B. Cooke, Asst. Adjutant-General to General R. E. Lee.

Major A. R. H. Ranson, Asst. Chief Ordnance, Army of Northern Virginia.

N. B.—Of the total number of *élèves* who served in the Confederate Army, 45½ per cent were officers, and all living *élèves* but 121 volunteered; 15 of that number served in the U. S. Army. Up to April, 1865, there had been 2,013 matriculates.

APPENDIX F

PREPARED BY JOS. R. ANDERSON.

V. M. I. ALUMNI IN FOREIGN ARMIES—BEFORE 1861

It is interesting to note that some of our Gradutes and *Elèves* performed distinguished service in the Military Establishment of Foreign Countries; and it is fitting that their names, and the memory of their deeds, should be preserved. With pride, we present them here.

BEVERLEY T. HUNTER, of Virginia—Matriculated 1841. Lieutenant in Lôpez's Army to free Cuba. Killed August 18, 1851. (See sketch in chapter entitled, "The Institute's Contribution to the Mexican War.")

BIRKETT D. FRY, of Virginia—Matriculated 1840. General in Walker's Nicaraguan Army. (See brief sketch in chapter entitled, "The Institute's Contribution to the Mexican War.")

WILLIAM R. WHITEHEAD, of Virginia—Graduated 1851. Son of Colonel William B. Whitehead and his wife, Emeline F. Riddick, of Nansemond County. Descended from a distinguished ancestry. Great-great-grandson of Captain Jason Riddick, of the Revolution. Following are interesting extracts from the sketch of his career furnished the author by the Official Historiographer of the Virginia Military Institute:

"After graduating at the Institute, William Riddick Whitehead spent one year at the University of Virginia, studying medicine, and graduated with the degree of M. D., the following year, at the University of Pennsylvania. He then went to Paris, France, to continue his medical studies; but, the Crimean War having broken out, he determined to pursue his studies on the battlefield. He was cordially received by Prince Gortchacoff, the Russian Ambassador to the Austrian Court, at Vienna, who gave him letters of introduction to his cousin, Prince Gortchacoff, the Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of Southern Russia; and Dr. Whitehead received the appointment of Staff Surgeon in the Russian Army. His fluent command of the French language gave him many social advantages among the cultivated Russians at Odessa, where he was first posted. There, he came under the friendly guidance of the great surgeon, Perigoff; and his earnest application to his duties won the confidence of the distinguished surgeon, and his associates.

"He served to the end of the War; and on the recommendation of Dr. Perigoff and Prince Gortchacoff, he received, by order of the Emperor, the Cross of Knight of the Imperial Russian Order of St. Stanislaus.

"Returning to Paris, Dr. Whitehead registered as an *Elève de l'Ecole de Médecine de Paris,* and studied diligently until 1860; when, having written his French thesis, as required, and having passed his examination creditably, he received the degree of *Docteur en Médecine de la Faculté de Paris.*

"Returning to the United States, he settled in New York, and was elected Professor of Clinical Medicine in the New York Medical College.

"After the fall of Fort Sumter, he returned to his native state, Virginia, and was appointed by President Davis a lieutenant in the battalion which was intended as a nucleus for the regular Confederate Army. This organization, however, was never completed; and, subsequently, President Davis, at the request of its colonel, and other officers of the regiment, appointed him surgeon of the 44th Virginia Infantry. He served about two years with this regiment, and rose successively to senior surgeon of the brigade and acting surgeon of the division, and, at the close of the War, was president of an Examining Board in South Carolina for examination of conscripts and disabled soldiers.

"At the battle of Chancellorsville, Dr. Whitehead had the wounded Stonewall Jackson placed in an ambulance which was already occupied by his chief of artillery, Colonel Stapleton Crutchfield, badly wounded. Both of these distinguished wounded officers and Dr. Whitehead—all three—were V. M. I. men, 'Old Stonewall' one of its most beloved and honored professors.

"After the battle of Gettysburg, Dr. Whitehead was directed to take charge of all the wounded of Stonewall Jackson's old Corps. The Federals allowed him to remain in charge, after the retirement of both Armies, and liberally furnished supplies for the wounded. About a month afterwards, instead of being exchanged (as he expected) Dr. Whitehead was detained as a prisoner of war, and sent to Baltimore and shut up in an enclosure adjoining Fort McHenry. From this imprisonment he escaped in citizen's attire, one dark night, by scaling the walls, leaving his uniform, top boots, and big spurs behind as souvenirs. That night, he made his way to New York, and the next morning astonished his future father-in-law, Colonel Thomas G. Benton (a good Southerner residing in New York), by appearing before him.

"Passing through Canada, he took passage from Halifax on a Cunard Steamer for St. Georges, Bermuda, and from there, on a swift Blockade-Runner, he safely returned (*via* Wilmington) to his duties in the Confederate Army. Arriving in Richmond, Surgeon-General Moore took some interest in Dr. Whitehead's adventures,

and granted him twenty days' leave of absence. He was engaged to his very pretty little cousin, Miss Elizabeth Benton, of New York. On account of ill health she had been permitted by Mr. Stanton, the Federal Secretary of War, to cross the lines and visit the South. She was then at the home of her aunt, Mrs. Fielding Lewis, in Albemarle County, Virginia, not knowing that her lover had escaped from prison; there, he found her during his twenty days' leave, and they were happily married.

"After the War, Dr. Whitehead returned to New York, and devoted himself to surgery, his favorite branch of the medical profession. He moved from New York to Denver, Col., in 1872, on account of his wife's health. About 1874, he was elected a member of the City Council of Denver, and during his service in the Council, at the request of the editor of the *Rocky Mountain News*, Dr. Whitehead prepared two lengthy articles on the subject of 'Sewerage for Denver,' which were the initial steps of the present fine sewerage system of that city. He was a voluminous and able writer, principally treating of difficult cases of surgery he had performed; and his articles on this subject attracted favorable comment, both in this country and in Europe.

"Dr. Whitehead left his children a large estate, inherited from his father, and greatly increased by his own untiring industry and business acumen. But better than that, he left them the legacy of a useful career and an honorable name. He died at his home in Denver, of heart disease, in 1903. He was found dead in bed by his servant, having apparently passed calmly away in his sleep. He had already secured tickets for an extended tour abroad, for the benefit of his health, and expected to join his wife in New York where she had preceded him, to spend a few days with relatives before their departure for Europe."

WILLIAM MASON, of Virginia.

He spent the session of 1851-52 at Washington College, Virginia, and then entered the Institute, where he remained till July, 1854. He then returned to his home in Brunswick County. Soon thereafter, he received a commission as first lieutenant from General William Walker, with authority to raise a company for service in the Army which that intrepid soldier was organizing for the purpose of establishing a Republic to be formed of the States of Central America. He at once visited Vicksburg, Miss., and New Orleans, La., making the latter place his headquarters; and soon sailed therefrom as captain of about one hundred men, having been promoted, after the organization of the company, to its captaincy.

Almost immediately on his arrival at his destination in Nicaragua, he participated in the battle of Rivas. After this fight, he was stricken with fever, and died aboard the vessel which was taking him to the Island of Omertepec, in Lake Nicaragua, where

General Walker had established hospital quarters for his sick and wounded. He was buried on this island—his last resting place—by his comrades, in the presence of the American Consul and other American friends who were there watching events in what was then a very interesting, if anxious, movement. He died May 4, 1856. His family received many testimonials of him, including an account of his gallant conduct in the fight at Rivas, which his mother always kept, and which she bequeathed to her daughter.

The following tribute was written, August 28, 1856, by his friend and comrade, Mr. F. W. Wilkins, of Lynchburg, Va.:

"DEATH OF A VIRGINIAN IN NICARAGUA

"Died on the 4th of May, 1856, Captain William Mason, aged 22 years, late of the Nicaraguan Army, General William Walker, commanding.

"The unfortunate subject of this obituary was a native of the Old Dominion, born in Brunswick County, April 14, 1834, a graduate of the Virginia Military Institute [He did not graduate, but resigned (probably) in the graduating class.—*Ed.*], and in all respects a most worthy and estimable gentleman.

"A few months previously to his untimely death, he enjoyed all that affection and wealth could bestow; but with this he was not content. In the bosom of an affectionate, careful, and provident family, his ardent and restless spirit found not what it sought; and, having heard of the struggles of Walker and his daring followers, his gallant and danger-loving spirit yearned to be with them. He, accordingly, left parents, friends, and a quiet happy home to enlist under the banner of Republican Nicaragua. With this design, he visited the states of Mississippi and Louisiana in which, after much trouble and expense, he collected a little band of adventurous spirits, in command of which he set sail for Nicaragua, that most beautiful, romantic and fertile, but distracted, land. Here, he and his dauntless followers arrived safely on the 22d of March, after a voyage of eleven days; and, here, he experienced for the first time the severe and trying reality of the soldier's life. Here, he entered with alacrity upon the officer's manifold duties and responsibilities—arduous and full of danger; and, here, he bore all those privations, hardships, and fatigues, incident to the camp and the march, cheerfully and without a murmur.

"He was present at that long-continued and bloody battle of Rivas. His chivalrous and soldiery bearing was remarked by all, officers and men; and he survived to read, hear, and receive the many distinguished encomiums which his noble and dauntless conduct so well merited.

"Amid the 'shout, the shock, and groan of war,' his proud step was ever seen onward and in advance, and his commanding voice

unceasingly heard, urging on to victory or to death. But, alas, alas! he is gone! he has fallen! he has fallen—not by the sword, but by disease. Shortly after the battle of Rivas, he was stricken down by yellow fever—that most fatal malady; and with its unusual virulence his manly form for a long time contended for the victory, and it seemed with success; but he finally sank beneath its death-stroke. He died, entertaining to the last the anxious hope of re-visiting, and embracing again, his revered father and mother, and fond brothers, and devoted sister.

"He breathed his last on the morning of the 4th of May, aboard the steamer in Lake Nicaragua, and was buried on the Island of Omertepec. His bearing in the agonies of death, although far separated from all that was dear to him, was yet in keeping with his lofty, and magnanimous nature.

"His death was witnessed by the author, who was lying prostrate by the same disease. Heart-felt sympathy for his bereaved family, and eternal happiness to his departed spirit!"

We have thus given the record of three sons of the V. M. I. who sought military glory in foreign lands, two of whom found a soldier's grave, while fighting for the cause they bravely espoused.

[There were others who fought (and one who died) while serving Foreign Armies, *after* the Confederate War; and, while their records do not strictly belong to the province of this History (which gives the military record of the Virginia Military Institute only to the end of that great war), still, it is believed the "unities" will not be seriously hurt, if we give them in this work; so they will be found in Appendix G.]

APPENDIX G

PREPARED BY JOS. R. ANDERSON.

V. M. I. ALUMNI IN FOREIGN ARMIES—AFTER 1865

In the body of this work will be found brief sketches of three old cadets who served in Foreign Armies before the Confederate War. Three others served in Foreign Armies after that War, and a brief record of them is given in this Appendix.

RALEIGH EDWARD COLSTON, of Virginia. He was born in Paris, France, in 1825, and received his preliminary education in the best schools of that City until he was sixteen when he was placed in the care of Mr. Edward Colston, in Berkeley County, Virginia (now West Virginia), by the latter's brother, Dr. Raleigh Colston, of Paris, in order that his education might be completed in the United States.

He was entered at the Institute in 1843, and was graduated in 1846. His course at the Institute was most creditable, and he was a popular cadet. He had fitted himself for the profession of teaching, and especially the French language, in which he was very proficient. In the year 1854 he was invited to accept the chair of French at the Institute. He was flattered by the tender, and promptly accepted it; and when the Confederate War broke out he was most acceptably filling that chair. He at once offered his services to Virginia and the Confederacy. They were promptly accepted, and he was appointed Colonel of the 16th Virginia Infantry.

In the fall of 1861, he was promoted brigadier-general, and he commanded a brigade in the Peninsula, under Magruder, until the spring of 1862. At Chancellorsville, May, 1863, he gallantly and efficiently commanded a division. Later, he was placed in command at Petersburg, and, on July 6, 1864, he was ordered to succeed Brigadier-General Nicholls, in command of Lynchburg. He was a brave and intelligent officer and served gallantly throughout the War.

After the War, he was called by the Khedive of Egypt to reorganize his Army. He accepted this flattering appointment, receiving the rank of Bey and title of Colonel. When his work was finished, he returned to Virginia. Broken in health and spirit, and too proud to accept the support of his children, he was admitted to Lee Camp Soldiers' Home, at Richmond, Va., September 25, 1894, and died there, July 29, 1896, and was laid to rest in beautiful "Hollywood."

Colonel George A. Porterfield thus speaks of him:

"Colston became my roommate in 1843, at the Institute, and there we formed a friendship which lasted through life. There was no one for whom I had a higher regard, or a sincerer friendship, than R. E. Colston. He was a man of fine intellect and superior attainments. The distinction which he gained in the Confederate service, during the Civil War, and later, in the service of the Khedive of Egypt, reflects honors upon the Colston name."

General Colston married Louisa Meriwether, daughter of John Bowyer, of "Thorn Hill," Rockbridge County, Virginia, and left two daughters, Mary (Mrs. ————), and Louise (now the wife of John D. Ragland, of Petersburg, Va., an old "V. M. I. Boy.")

ST. GEORGE TUCKER MASON, of Virginia, was entered at the Institute when sixteen years old, in the spring of 1861, but ran off to enter the Army. He was sent back to his guardian, as he was too young to enlist, and reëntered early in 1862. He remained only a few months, his restless spirit ill-brooking his confinement at the Institute when he yearned for active service in the field. His guardian yielded finally, and he resigned his cadetship, and entered the Military service. His arm was the Cavalry; and he made a splendid record, being several times wounded, and declining promotion. He served gallantly to the end.

St. George Mason was the third son of Judge John Y. Mason, our Minister to France, who died at the embassy in Paris, a few years before the Confederate War.

St. George was well grounded in his preliminary education by teachers in Paris, and spoke the French language fluently. After our great War, he tried to be content leading the prosaic life of a private citizen, and for just one year ill succeeded. Owing to Emperor Louis Napoleon's (and especially his lovely wife, Eugenie's) fondness for Judge Mason's family, St. George received, in 1866, an appointment as first lieutenant in the "Foreign Legion" of the French Army, stationed in Algeria. He quickly reported for duty.

After five years' service in which he had twice received promotion, he was on the eve of applying for a furlough to visit his old home in Virginia, when the Franco-German War broke out. No power under heaven could have drawn him from France then. He served during the war with the greatest gallantry, receiving wounds and promotions.

When the war ended he was the senior captain of his regiment in the regular French Army, and had frequently commanded it.

Marrying soon afterwards the daughter of a high civil official in Algiers, he found it difficult to pay the long-promised and longed-for visit to America; and it was not till he came as aide-de-camp

to General Boulanger, on the occasion of the Yorktown Centennial Celebration, that his loved ones in Virginia saw him; and, alas, they never saw him again! After a few weeks' delightful visit, he returned to France with his General.

France, during her occupation of Tong-King (Tonquin) in Annam, in 1883-4, had suffered a number of repulses by the Chinese, and determined to increase her Army of occupation to 40,000, under General Brière de l'Isle. Captain Mason's regiment formed a part of this Army.

A treaty was soon negotiated, through the offices of Sir Robert Hart, between France and China, the terms being that Tong-King should remain under the protection of France, who would evacuate Formosa, and spend 80,000,000 francs on the construction of roads in South China. In the rainy season of 1884 there was much sickness among the French troops in Tong-King, and Mason fell a victim to virulent dysentery, dying there in the summer of 1884. His remains were later taken to Algeria.

St. George Mason was a born soldier, and loved his profession; and, had his life been spared a while longer, there is hardly a doubt that he would have been promoted to still higher rank in the Army of his romantic love.

A younger brother served gallantly in the New Market Corps of Cadets.

HENRY HUNTINGDON HARRISON, of Virginia, matriculated July, 1863. Served with the Corps in its various campaigns until February, 1864, when he resigned to enlist in the Army.

He served throughout the remainder of the War as a private in Company B, 43d Virginia Cavalry Battalion, under Colonel Mosby. He had his horse shot under him in the action at Hamilton, Va., March 21, 1865, and was captured and held a prisoner in Fort McHenry, until the June following.

In 1866, he entered the University of Virginia, and graduated in the Law School in 1868, and subsequently traveled in Europe. Fondness for military life, and sympathy with the republican cause, induced him to offer his services to the Insurgent Republic of Cuba. In June, 1869, he was commissioned Captain of Cavalry in the "Liberating Army of Cuba." He raised a company of Confederate Veterans at Richmond, Va., which became Company D in the regiment of American Cavalry of Colonel Ryan. He sailed with the Expedition from New York for Cuba, but was captured by the United States authorities and confined in Fort Lafayette, New York Harbor. He remained nearly a year in New York City, waiting under the orders of the Cuban Junta, and engaged in shipping arms and other munitions of war to the Army in Cuba. Finally, in May, 1870, he went to Cuba as captain in the Expedition of Gaspar Aguero Betancourt. He served first in the cavalry brigade of

Camaguey, under General Ryan, afterwards in the Department of Santa Clara, under General Cavada. He was lying ill, and unable to walk, in a hospital camp in the woods, near Palma Sola, in Cienfuegas, January 19, 1871, when the camp was taken by the Spanish. He escaped on his hands and knees. On the fifth day, being nearly exhausted from having had nothing to eat, he encountered, and surrendered to, a detachment of Spanish cavalry; was held a prisoner and threatened with death, but was finally released at the intervention of the United States.

He returned then to Virginia, and settled in Sussex County, and engaged in farming. He married, in 1874, Margaret B. Page, of Philadelphia. He was Chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee of his county, 1876-9, and was a member of the House of Delegates, 1877-9. Although he was a graduate in law, he never practised the profession, but dropped it for farming, and the study of letters, which last is his favorite pursuit.

Impaired health—the result of exposure in campaigning in two wars—obliged him to remove to Florida in 1887, where he has since resided, giving much time to the settlement and development of the Indian River and Biscayne Bay sections of that State.

In 1891-2-3, he was Commissioner of the State of Florida to obtain from Congress sundry improvements to navigation on the East Coast. He is much interested in the cult of the Confederate Legends. He is a member of Miami Camp of U. C. V.

He has written "The Charge of the Cadets," "Chickamauga," "The Fall of the Great Captain," "The Last Charge at Gettysburg," "The Writing of the Roll of Glory," "The South was Right," etc.

Henry Huntingdon Harrison was born May 12, 1848, at "Carter Hall," Clarke County, Virginia, and is the son of Henry Harrison, of "Berkeley," Charles City County, and his wife, Frances Tabb Burwell, of "Carter Hall." His paternal grandparents were Benjamin Harrison, of "Carter Hall," and Mary Willing Page, of "Pagebrooke," Clarke County, Virginia.

APPENDIX H

PREPARED BY JOS. R. ANDERSON.

GRADUATES AND ÉLÈVES IN THE UNION ARMY—DURING THE WAR

There were fifteen (15), and to all *but one* we would accord the meed of praise and honor; and we enshrine their memories in our hearts.

Here are the fourteen who conscientiously (we must believe) clung to the Union, and dedicated their lives and fortunes to the cause for its preservation:

Brigadier-General Edward C. Carrington,
Colonel Charles Denby,
Colonel Benjamin Sharp,
Colonel John F. Tyler,
Lieutenant-Colonel John T. Hall,
Major James R. Hall,
Major William C. Cuyler,
Major John A. Thompson,
Captain Samuel S. Malcolm,
Captain Ulysses D. Floyd,
Captain James B. Hamilton,
Lieutenant A. B. Williams,
Private James Seabrook,

all of the Army (except probably Hamilton), and

Surgeon Stephen D. Kennedy, of the Navy.

Of the above-named, five met death during the War, and two soon after, in the line of duty.

E. C. CARRINGTON came of a distinguished line of Virginians, and (barring this one act of his life) was no mean scion of a knightly race. (See brief sketch of him on page 514 in appendix entitled, "The Institute's Contribution to the Mexican War.")

CHARLES DENBY graduated "First Captain" of his Class (1850). Some years afterwards, Georgetown University conferred upon him the degree of LL. D.

He was born in Botetourt County, Virginia. His parents were Nathaniel Denby, a merchant of Richmond, Virginia (who, at one

time, was United States Consul at Marseilles, France), and Sarah Harvey, of Botetourt County, Virginia. He taught several years in the Masonic University at Selma, Alabama, and then removed to Evansville, Indiana, and was assistant editor of the *Enquirer*, of that City, till 1855, when he was admitted to the bar. The next year he was elected to the Legislature, as a Democrat.

When the Civil War began, he was active for the Union cause, and was made colonel of the Forty-Second Indiana Volunteers, and afterwards, colonel of the Eightieth Indiana Volunteers. At the battle of Perryville, in 1862, he was severely wounded, and had his horse killed under him. Three years later, his injuries forced him to resign his commission.

He then took up politics, and was for years one of the shining lights of the Democracy of his State. He was a delegate to the St. Louis Convention of 1876, and nominated Tilden and Hendricks, and, in 1884, to the Chicago Convention which nominated Cleveland and Hendricks. Five months before the death of Vice-President Hendricks, Colonel Denby was appointed by President Cleveland, Minister to China. He was reappointed by President Harrison (who was his warm friend and admirer), and was again reappointed by President Cleveland.

In his thirteen years of service, from 1885 to 1898, Colonel Denby became close to the Chinese statesmen. His efforts in aid of peace with Japan, after the war with the Celestial Empire, put him high in Chinese favor; and Li Hung Chang had a great regard for him. Immediately on his retiring, President McKinley appointed him a member of the Commission which investigated the conduct of the War with Spain. The next year, he was appointed a member of the Philippine Commission. He was a man of international fame, and was one of the galaxy of statesmen that shed lustre upon Indiana.

In 1858, he married a daughter of United States Senator Graham N. Fitch, of Indiana, who survived him, with the following children: Edwin, T. Garvin, Graham F., Charles, Jr., Wythe, and Mrs. Gilbert Wilkes.

Colonel Denby never denied that, although he was relieved, on an Army surgeon's certificate of physical disability, from further service in the field, he resigned his commission in the United States Army because of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. This was generally believed.

One of his sons wrote that he "treasured more than one memento of his cadet days, until his death; and they are now valued keepsakes of some of his children." In this connection, it will not be out of place to insert here a letter from Colonel Denby, received by the Chairman of the Virginia Military Institute Semi-Centennial Executive Committee, in 1889:

"LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
"PEKING, July 16, 1889.

"JOSEPH R. ANDERSON, JR., ESQ.,
"Chairman, etc.,
"Richmond, Va.

"DEAR SIR—Your kind letter of May 14th, inviting me to attend the Semi-Centennial Celebration of the Virginia Military Institute, on the 3d and 4th instant, reached me this day. You correctly assume that attendance on the occasion mentioned would have been a great pleasure for me. Nothing would be more agreeable to me than to visit Virginia where the most of my relations reside, and especially—

" 'The schoolboy spot we ne'er forget,
Though there we are forgot.'

"I was contemporary with Rodes, Garland, Allen, and many others who won fame in our great War. Here, in China, I have a classmate, General A. C. Jones, Consul at Chinkiang; but we are eight hundred miles apart.

"Trusting that I shall have the pleasure of meeting you, and other 'Old Cadets,' at no distant day,

"I remain, very truly yours,
"CHARLES DENBY."

In another letter, written many years afterwards, he said that, at a gathering of V. M. I. Alumni, in San Francisco, he had had "the honor of drinking a toast to [Judge] Evans, the gallant color-bearer at New Market."

Colonel Denby died suddenly of heart trouble at Jamestown, New York (having lectured there the night before), January 18, 1904.

BENJAMIN SHARP was one of the noble twenty youths who relieved the Public Guard at Lexington, on the natal day of the V. M. I. He was from Lee County, Virginia, and his family was probably the most prominent one in that section.

In a few years, he removed to Missouri, and soon became prominent in that State. At the beginning of the War, he was commissioned colonel of Missouri Volunteers (Union); but, before he could take command of his regiment, he was killed by "Bushwhackers," as he was driving along the road in his buggy.

He had become a leading Mason in his adopted State, and the members of that order passed the most eulogistic resolutions on his untimely and cruel taking-off, and placed his portrait in the Grand Lodge, in St. Louis.

Grand old General A. C. Cummings, of the Class of 1844, told the writer that the first cadet uniform he ever saw was worn by

Cadet Benjamin Sharp, as he returned from the Institute, in July, 1840, and passed through Abingdon; and that it made such an impression on him, in arousing his youthful ambition, that he determined to apply for a cadetship himself, the next year. He got the appointment, and was graduated three years thereafter.

JOHN F. TYLER was from the same State and county as Benjamin Sharp, but entered the Institute sixteen years after the latter. He was graduated in 1859, and soon thereafter removed to St. Joseph, Missouri. He became a lawyer; and when, two years later, the War broke out, he enlisted in the Union Army, and rose to be a colonel, serving throughout the War with distinction.

He had never returned to the Institute till July, 1889, when the Semi-Centennial Celebration was held, and between 400 and 500 "Old Boys" assembled to honor the occasion, and the grand old Chief who had chosen to relinquish his life's work on this, his fiftieth, anniversary, as Superintendent of the Institute. Tyler was given an ovation. It was the first time since the War that a *Federal* Alumnus had returned to the old home, and his hundreds of Alumni-brothers gave him the right hand of comradeship, with a hearty will. This generous and magnanimous reception touched him deeply. He met a number of his classmates, among them Scott Shipp, Commandant; and he was the most earnest man on the ground in soliciting votes among the Alumni for the nomination of Shipp as "Old Speck's" successor, against General Fitzhugh Lee, a formidable competitor.

Tyler died in 1911. He was a devoted son of the Institute, and influenced a number of Missouri youths to attend the School.

The two HALLS were brothers. They were very anxious to enlist in the Southern cause, their sympathies being entirely with the South. They had many friends in the Corps of Cadets, all of whom expected them to take side with Virginia in the coming struggle, when they left the Institute for their home near the Ohio River. But their father—a rabid Unionist—forbade their entering the Southern Army, threatening them with the direst punishment if they did not obey his command. It was a most pathetic case. They were literally *driven* to the course adopted for them, against their solemn protest, by their unnatural and cruel father. They both joined the Federal Army; both were given high command, and *both were killed in battle!* We can not but sigh over the sad fate of these two unwilling martyrs to a cause they believed, in their hearts, was cruelly unjust. They were buried side by side in the Cemetery near Eight Mile Island, in the Ohio River. James died first, having been killed at Kennedy's Hill, West Virginia, August 6, 1862. He was major of the 4th West Virginia Infantry.

John, the younger by four years, was lieutenant-colonel of the 18th West Virginia Infantry, and was killed at Cedar Creek, West Virginia, October 19, 1864.

A correspondent of the writer who knew the Hall family well, thus wrote: "Hon. John Hall, the father of James Robert and John Tyler Hall (his only sons), was a native of Tyrone, Ireland, and came to America with his parents when a child, and settled first in Rockingham County, Virginia, later removing to Mason County (West Virginia). He married Olivia Hogg, daughter of Thomas Hogg, youngest son of Peter Hogg, the famous captain and surveyor, and friend of Washington, when Robert Dinwiddie was the Colonial Governor of Virginia.

"John Hall (father of the two cadets) was a member of the General Assembly of Virginia in 1844, and served a second term, and was also a State Senator, and was elected on the Whig ticket in 1852. He was the President of the first Convention of West Virginia, and he held many other positions of trust in the county and State. He was a zealous Union man; and his position, and desire for influence in the State, made him urge his sons to enlist in the Federal service, they being both warm advocates of the South, at the commencement of the agitation for the secession of the State of Virginia. James remarked to a friend that he would rather see his right arm paralyzed than raised against the South; and a strange incident happened: his right arm *was* shattered by a ball, which was the cause of his death.

"The father of these Old Cadets in a political controversy with Editor Lewis Wetzel, of Point Pleasant, in 1861, shot and killed him. He was tried for the killing, but was acquitted."

This uncompromising hater of the South, and bitter and vindictive man, died of cancer of the eye, in 1882, and was buried by his sons. He never recovered from their deaths. He had a large picture painted of the two gallant young men, in the uniform of their rank, with this inscription beneath it: "Young, patriotic, brave, and generous, they gallantly fell in defense of their Country, with their faces to the foe."

Another correspondent wrote that John T. Hall, on the breaking out of the War, went to Charleston (West Virginia), to go into the Confederate Army, but did not do so; and that, instead, he joined the Union Army, and was commissioned major of the 4th Virginia (West Virginia) Volunteers (Union). He was afterwards promoted to lieutenant-colonel, as we have stated above.

WILLIAM CLARENDON CUYLER entered the Institute the summer before the war. He was a native of Georgia, and was a son of Major John Meck Cuyler, Medical Corps, U. S. A., a native of the same State. His father, in 1860, was stationed at Fortress Monroe,

and it was from there that Cuyler came to the Institute. He was a popular fellow, and a high-toned Southern gentleman; but when the war-clouds threatened, his comrades all knew that Cuyler would cast his lot with his father, on the "other side." It was an illustration of the effect of environment. Cuyler had been brought up in the Army where State lines are obliterated, and State pride is but poorly cultivated.

He became a second lieutenant in the Third Artillery in February, 1862; first lieutenant in April, 1863; brevet captain in October, 1864, "for gallant and meritorious service in the battles of Winchester and Cedar Creek"; and major in March, 1865, "for good and gallant service during the war."

He died November 2, 1869, in Savannah, Georgia, of yellow fever.

JOHN A. THOMPSON was from Belmont County, Ohio (bordering on the Ohio River). He was the son of Colonel John Thompson, of Belmont County, Ohio (opposite Moundsville, Virginia), and his wife, Sara Ann Walker, both born in Pennsylvania, and whose paternal parents came from Armagh, Ireland.

He was in the graduating class in 1850-51, when he, with all but two or three others of the class, had a bitter controversy with the Second Cadet-Captain (their classmate). Thompson was a great favorite, and the Second Captain was very unpopular—both in his Class and in the Corps at large. The issue was joined by Thompson denouncing in unmeasured terms his commanding officer. A court-martial resulted; but his classmates (all but two or three) stood by him, and they were threatened with dismissal for "forming a combination," in contravention of the Regulations of the Institute. There was great excitement in the Corps which met and adopted resolutions upholding both Thompson and his Class, and condemning the Second Captain. The verdict of the court-martial was generally thought to have been unjust. Thompson left the Institute, but carried with him unmistakable proof of the confidence and admiration of his classmates (except one or two) and of the whole Corps.

Three years later, June 25, 1855, he received a commission as second lieutenant in the First United States Dragoons. He was transferred, August 29, 1855, to the First Cavalry. On January, —, 1861, he was promoted first lieutenant, and May 14, 1861, captain. On August 3, 1861, he was transferred to the Fourth Cavalry. August 25, 1867, he was promoted major of the Seventh Cavalry; and, on November 14th, following, he was murdered by desperadoes, near his post in Texas.

The following announcement was made to his father, by the assistant surgeon of the post:

"FORT MASON, TEXAS, November 14, 1867.

"COLONEL JOHN THOMPSON,
"Moundsville, W. Va.

"DEAR SIR—It becomes my painful duty to inform you of the death of your son, Major John A. Thompson, at this post, this morning, at the hands of desperadoes, while commanding the peace in an affray between them and a party of soldiers just arrived from Fort Chadbourne.

"The ball struck the right cheek below the eye, cutting the internal carotid artery, and emerging below the left ear, with fatal hemorrhage in about twenty minutes. I was by his side in a few moments, but my best endeavors to preserve his valuable life were hopelessly futile.

"He was universally esteemed here, his many noble qualities winning him a large circle of friends who, with his inconsolable family, and the Army which loses one of its most valuable officers, will ever deplore his irreparable loss.

"Accept, dear sir, my most sincere sympathy, in this your sad bereavement.

"Mrs. Thompson will leave for St. Louis as soon as proper escort can be secured to accompany her.

"Very respectfully,

"JOHN A. HULSE,
"A. A. Surgeon, U. S. A."

In a "communicated" tribute before us, we find these words:

"Major John A. Thompson was educated at the Virginia Military Institute.

"His first associations in the Army were with Colonel Lee (afterwards General Lee, of the Confederate service). Most of his fellow-officers of this same regiment were Southern gentlemen. After the partial disorganization of the regiment, consequent on the breaking out of the Civil War, he was associated with Colonel (afterwards General) Sumner, a brave and gallant soldier, and a fine disciplinarian.

"Lieutenant Thompson's early duties in the Army were in the exploration and protection of our immense territory in the West. In these duties many instances of sagacity, forecast, and intrepidity might be recorded; while his official reports of his explorations are models of conciseness, fullness, and completeness of detail, exhibiting all that was important to be known, and avoiding the prolixity of unnecessary and feeble details. They commanded the public and official commendation of his superior officers, and were the basis of much of the subsequent action of the Government, in relation to the whole of that great western domain.

"Upon the breaking out of the Civil War, he parted with great regret with his personal Southern friends in the Army.

"For some time, his services, from his superior knowledge of the country, were required for the protection of the California mails, and the western settlements, against the Indians who then, as lately, had assumed a warlike attitude. But when the Government was sorely pressed in the South, he was ordered to the Army of Tennessee with his command. He was present at the battle of Chickamauga, and it was his presence of mind, his personal bravery, and fortitude, and his disobedience of orders (or, rather, his substitution of his own military discretion), that saved the retreat of the Army and its almost total destruction.

"At the close of the War, he was sent to Texas.

. . . . . .

"He was scholarly, soldierly, and gentlemanly, with the love of his men, the respect of his fellow-officers, and the confidence of his superiors."

The San Antonio (Texas) *Express*, in its issue of November 18, 1867, said:

"An express from Fort Mason arrived in this City on Saturday morning bringing the intelligence of the brutal murder of Major John A. Thompson, Commander of the Post, on Thursday morning last. Major Thompson was out driving with his wife and two children, and, passing by a store about half a mile from the Post, saw a difficulty taking place between some citizens and soldiers. He stopped his ambulance and ordered a sergeant, who was present, to have the parties arrested, when the desperadoes turned upon the Major and his sergeant, shooting the Major through the head, killing him instantly (?), while by his wife's side, and mortally wounding the sergeant.

"The murderers, having their horses at hand, fled before any attempt for their arrest could be made. [Then followed the names of the gang.] Scouts have been sent in all directions to (if possible) catch the murderers. The officers of the regiment have offered one thousand dollars reward for their arrest, and delivery to the military authorities.

. . . . . .

"He was universally beloved by his fellow-officers and the men under his command. He was very happy in his domestic relations, having one of the sweetest of women for a wife, and two beautiful children.

"On the banks of the Ohio River, his aged father and mother, surrounded with ease and wealth, but recently urged their son to resign and come home, to bless their declining years.

"He devoted the best energies of a noble manhood to his country's service, and closed an honorable career with that sublimest of offerings, a hero's life."

Major Thompson married, in 1860, Mary J. Wilson, of St. Louis, Missouri. Two children were born to them—Elizabeth and John.

Of MALCOLM very little is known. He was a son of Andrew Malcolm, and his wife, Priscilla Samples, of Charleston, West Virginia.

He was entered at the Virginia Military Institute in the summer of 1850. He did not graduate. In 1858, he removed to Missouri, and became a captain, during the War, in the Union forces of that State. He has not been heard from since 1884 (when he was still living in Missouri).

FLOYD was from Fairmont, West Virginia, and became a cadet in the summer of 1860. He was the son of Michael Floyd. Like Malcolm, he went also to Missouri (after the war). He is said to have been a captain of the Home Guards of West Virginia (Federal). He has not been heard from by his relatives (still in his native state) for forty-six years, and is supposed to have died, soon after going west. When last heard from he spoke of his intention of going farther westward.

*HAMILTON was another West Virginian, who was entered in 1847. His parents, Thomas B. Hamilton and Elizabeth S. Brown, lived at Hawks Nest; they moved there in 1828 from the Valley of Virginia. The Old Cadet resigned while in the Third Class, and attended no other institution of learning afterwards. He became a civil engineer. His son says he was not in actual military service during the War of 1861-65, but was in the employ of the United States Government, as a civil engineer, in 1861-62.

On July 10, 1863, he was taken from his home by the Confederates, and kept in military prisons at Lewisburg, Dublin, Castle Thunder (Richmond), and Salisbury, North Carolina. In the last-named prison he died on September 28, 1864.

He was a very strong Union man, and, when arrested, he was engaged in making a large map of a tract of land, under orders of the Court; and it was reported to the Confederate authorities that it was a map of the county for the Union forces; hence his arrest and imprisonment.

He was greatly interested in education, and owned a schoolhouse at his home where he taught school in the winter months, when he could not follow his profession as a surveyor.

He married Matilda I. Wood, daughter of Amos Wood, of Fayette County, West Virginia, in 1853, and there were born to

*From the testimony of his son, he was not regularly enlisted as a soldier.

them three children, Alexander W. Hamilton (now a lawyer in Fayetteville, West Virginia, and a most courteous gentleman), William T. Hamilton, and Mrs. James E. Bailey.

AUGUSTUS BERRY WILLIAMS was a liuetenant in the 8th Virginia Regiment (Union), and served with credit throughout the War. He entered the Institute in 1860. He is still living, a respected merchant, in Charleston, West Virginia. He is a most loyal Alumnus, and has frequently corresponded with the writer. He went to Richmond with the Corps under Jackson in April, 1861, and drilled Southern volunteers until July, when he was discharged and returned to Kanawha County, and later entered the Union Army. His parents were: John Williams, born in New York City, and Mary Berry, born in Kanawha County, Va. (W. Va.).

JAMES SEABROOK was from Pittsburg, Pa., though his paternal ancestors were prominent citizens of Richmond, Virginia, until the middle of the last century. He entered the Institute the summer before the War began. He enlisted in Company E, 35th New Jersey Volunteers, and was killed by "bushwhackers," February 15, 1864. His father was Thomas Seabrook, of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, and his mother was born Eveline Tingey Barber, of New Jersey (niece of Commodore Tingey, of the U. S. Navy).

Surgeon STEPHEN DANDRIDGE KENNEDY, of the United States Navy, during the War of 1861-65, was a Virginian whose family was very prominent in Jefferson County. He was educated at the Institute, the University of Virginia, and the University of Maryland, receiving the degree of Doctor of Medicine from the last-named institution, in 1855. He practised his profession in Baltimore till 1861, when he was appointed a surgeon in the United States Navy. He served gallantly with Admiral Farragut, and some years after the War purchased a farm in Fauquier County, Virginia, upon which he settled.

We have thus spoken in detail of every one of the fourteen gradutes and *élèves* who served with honor in the Federal Military Establishment, during the War. What of the fifteenth? It were well had he never been born, or, at least, had never become a cadet of the Virginia Military Institute; for then, he would have escaped the dishonor that attaches to his memory now. Who was this man? He was WILLIAM HENRY GILLESPIE, son of Dr. James Lindsay Gillespie, of Louisa County (and later Page County), Virginia, and Mary Harrison Hall, daughter of John Byrd Hall, of Fredericksburg, Virginia, and his wife, Harriet Stringfellow, of Culpeper County, Virginia.

Gillespie entered the Second Class in the fall of 1860. He stood very high in his Class, and appears to have attracted the

special attention of Major Jackson, one of his instructors. In April, 1861, he went with the Corps to Richmond. His future movements are related by himself in a letter to General Scott Shipp, Superintendent, Virginia Military Institute, bearing date, "Sistersville, West Virgina, September 22, 1897," as follows:

"DEAR SIR—Please send me a Register of the Graduates of the V. M. I. I wish you would inform me how much I would have to remit to obtain a Diploma from your institution, showing the fact that I graduated in 1861 (or 1862, I forget which).

"I have in my possession a highly complimentary letter from 'Stonewall Jackson,' directing me to meet him at Winchester, Va., and promising me a commission as lieutenant of engineers on his staff. I obeyed his order, and reported to him at Taylor's Hotel, in Winchester, and was informed by him that I must stay with his staff (*but not on duty*), until my appointment would come.

"I slept by his side in the 'fence corners' at night, on his retreat from Winchester, with General Banks in pursuit, asking him every day why my appointment had not come; until at New Market, opposite my home in the Luray Valley, I asked him again, and he replied rather curtly that he did not know, unless it was because my father was accused of disloyalty. I knew at that time that my father had been arrested at Luray for being a Union man; had been confined in jail at Luray under such charges; had been afterwards released from jail, under a writ of *habeas corpus* (granted by Judge John W. Tyler, of the Fauquier District); and (that) after his release by order of Judge Tyler, he was arrested by some of General Longstreet's Corps, and was confined in the Guard House at Orange Court House, from which he escaped at night, and after a desperate endeavor to reach the Union lines, he finally succeeded; and (that), upon examination by Major-General H. W. Slocum, he was recommended to Abraham Lincoln by the General, and (that) Lincoln directed in a letter to General Banks, that 'Dr. Gillespie be taken to his home in the Luray Valley, and be protected.'

"After my rebuff from General Jackson at New Market, being only a mere boy, and knowing part of the facts described, I went home; and being an only son, told my mother that I had no other recourse but to hide at home, until the Union troops occupied the Valley, and, then, to follow the fortunes of my noble father.

"Some of these days, possibly soon, I will visit the V. M. I. and show you all the paper. [He died two months afterwards.—*Ed.*]

"My father was, in the latter part of the War, surgeon-in-chief of the Third Brigade of Carroll's Division of Hancock's Corps, appointed by General Carroll, and (the appointment) signed by 'Wm.

McKinley, Jr., Major and Asst. Adjt.-Genl., which papers I also have.

"Please let me hear from you at your earliest convenience.

"With high respect,

"I am very truly yours,

"WM. H. GILLESPIE.

"I will also mention that while my father and myself went with General Shields to Fredericksburg, Va., the Confederate mails were opened in the Luray Valley, and that my mother, at home, received the long-delayed letter from Richmond, *sending my appointment as lieutenant of engineers,* signed by J. P. Benjamin, Secretary of War, which I also have."

Is this a novelist's fiction? Or is it historical truth? Did this old "V. M. I. Boy"—a pupil of Jackson—accept the proffered appointment to his personal staff; sleep by his side; share with others of his staff the high honor of his confidence and comradeship, as fellow-soldiers in a sacred Cause, and then *desert to the enemy?* Alas, for the frailty of human nature, it is even so!

He was placed in a trying position, there is no doubt. He was in a strait betwixt two duties (as he conceived), the one holding him to his honor, *as a soldier,* the other drawing him to his persecuted father, *as a son!* It must have been, indeed, a sore trial for a youth barely seventeen years of age, to be subjected to; and one can not but feel a natural pity and sorrow for the perplexed boy, from the standpoint of humanity alone. But, a soldier is not permitted to yield to the softer virtues; nor can he debate in his own mind questions of casuistry. His paramount duty is to yield implicit and unquestioning obedience to military law; to sink all personal preferences; to ignore the promptings even of the human heart, and to disregard the common amenities of private life. It is his to heed, and instantly respond to, the stern call of Duty, whatever may betide. Then, in this view, the conduct of young Gillespie was reprehensible in the extreme. *He deserted his colors!*

It is true, he had not formally enlisted in the Confederate Army; but he had technically done so, when he obeyed the summons of Jackson, and repaired to his headquarters, to await the coming of the commission promised him as a lieutenant of engineers on Jackson's staff. What must have been his thoughts when the belated commission finally reached him! What irony of Fate! What a tragedy of his earlier hopes and aspirations! *To serve with Jackson* (his sister, the last of his father's family, wrote the Historiographer of the Institute) had been his highest ambition—the dream of his life. He had lost the opportunity he had so fondly coveted; he had crucified his honorable ambition; and the future looked dreary indeed to this young Union soldier.

We know nothing of his military life till after the repulse of the Federal General Hunter, before Lynchburg, in June, 1864. His regiment—the 14th West Virginia Infantry—was in Hunter's Army. No doubt, he had been in the disastrous rout at New Market, and possibly had witnessed the famous charge of the Cadet Battalion there. He had certainly passed through Lexington, with Hunter's later victorious troops; had witnessed the destruction of his once-dear Alma Mater; and had seen the "Old Corps" retreating before Hunter's twenty thousand soldiers. What must have been his feelings, at this time?

But, we hear of him again, when on the 17th and 18th of June, his regiment was engaged near Lynchburg. Let his colonel speak:

"HEADQUARTERS, FOURTEENTH W. VA. VOL. INF'Y,
"CAMP PIATT, W. VA., July 8, 1864.

"LIEUTENANT—I have the honor to report that in the engagement of the 17th and 18th days of June, 1864, near Lynchburg, Va., the officers and men, almost without exception, displayed great courage and heroism. The Fourteenth West Virginia Volunteer Infantry formed the right of the second line of battle of the Second Brigade, and advanced in good order, and with a great deal of enthusiasm, in support of the first line of battle, each officer performing his duty with great credit, with the single exception of *First Lieutenant William H. Gillespie, adjutant of the regiment.* [Italics the author's.] On the 17th day of June, as we were advancing, when the first line opened fire upon the enemy, Lieutenant Gillespie exhibited great cowardice by dodging behind trees, stumps, etc. The regiment had advanced but a few hundred yards, when Lieutenant Gillespie fell entirely behind, and did not rejoin the regiment until after dark, when the firing had ceased. On the 18th, when the rebel batteries opened upon our brigade, he again abandoned his regiment, went to the rear, and did not rejoin his command until the next morning, several miles from the battlefield. Summary dismissal, I think, would be an adequate punishment for his offense.

. . . . . .

"Very respectfully yours,
"D. D. JOHNSON,
"*Colonel.*

"Lieut. William B. Nesbitt,
"A. A. A.-G., Second Brigade,
"Second Division,
"Department of West Virginia."

The above report is taken from "War of Rebellion Official Record of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Vol. XXXVII."

Diligent search through the "Rebellion Records" has failed to find that Lieutenant Gillespie was either dismissed, or brought to trial before a Court-Martial; nor is he mentioned again in the Records.

This will naturally be thought a doubly ignominious ending of the career of Gillespie, *the Deserter*. But the writer does not believe it was quite as bad as it looks; he does not think he was a coward. He believes that his apparently shameless conduct was the result of a *set purpose* (dangerous as it was) *to fight no longer against the Confederates*, because he knew the Union Army was opposed, in part, by the *Corps of Cadets of the V. M. I.*—his quondam comrades; and it does not require a very great stretch of the imagination to arrive at the writer's conclusion. Let us, at least, give the poor, misguided fellow the benefit of our charitable doubt.

After the War, Gillespie went with his father to Iowa. In 1878, he returned to West Virginia. When he was about forty years old he married, and, to please his father, he took a course of medical lectures in Baltimore. He seems to have been ever a dutiful and devoted son, at least. He practised medicine only a short while, giving it up for the real estate business. He died of pneumonia at St. Vincent's Hospital, New York, on November 10, 1897.

His dear old mother lived to be nearly eighty-nine years of age, dying at the home of her only child (a daughter), at Sistersville, West Virginia, February 10, 1907. Her husband died in 1892. She was a great-granddaughter of William Byrd, of Westover, and was a woman of most saintly character, and was beloved by hosts of friends. She was a life-long member of the Episcopal Church, and a beautiful obituary of her was published in the Church papers.

The Historiographer of the Institute wrote to Gillespie's sister, and begged her to disabuse his mind, if possible, of the conviction (confirmed, alas, by herself) that her brother had *deserted the Confederate cause*. She replied very kindly, but said nothing to soften the hard, cruel facts: "The word 'deserter,' without doubt, would not look well in history," she wrote, and added. "You have my permission to write it your own way. I have ceased long ago to worry over small things. 'Let the dead past bury its dead'."

This sister had previously written, and furnished the Historiographer, a sketch of Dr. Gillespie. In part, she wrote: "My brother's education was conducted at home, in Luray, Va., until he was sixteen years of age, when he was sent to Harrisonburg, Va., to attend a college for boys. He remained at that place until 1860, the year of his matriculation at the V. M. I. In 1861, he was sent with other cadets, under General Wise, to the Kanawha Valley, to drill recruits for the Confederate Army. [He evidently went with the Corps to *Richmond*, under Jackson, in April, and this

is confirmed by his classmate, the late Rev. W. E. Hill.—*Ed.*] At that time, he was given (what he always thought his greatest glory) a position by 'Stonewall Jackson' on his Staff, ranking as captain. Late that summer, hearing of his father's persecutions by the Confederates, naturally, his views changed entirely; he deserted, came home, and was given a place in the 14th Regiment, West Va. Volunteers, as adjutant. He remained with the same regiment until he was given his honorable discharge, at the close of the War. . . . "

What is the reader's verdict in this pathetic case? Whatever it shall be, the case is without parallel: that a man should serve as an officer in the Federal Army, and yet esteem it the greatest honor of his life to have been asked to serve on *Stonewall Jackson's Staff;* or, to state the case more strongly (as it really was), to have accepted a tentative appointment on *Jackson's Staff,* and, then, *to desert to the enemy!**

Considering the fact of the large number of matriculates from the Northwestern border of the Old Dominion, it is rather remarkable that only fifteen are found to have actively served in the Union Army. But there was not one of these, we feel sure, but often recalled that long ere he donned the blue uniform of the Union, he had responded to the reveille of life, while wearing the *grey coatee,* and that the flag he first learned to love and to follow was the white field, unsullied as the driven snow—emblazoned only with the features of Washington and the name of VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE.

There is but one other Alumnus, so far discovered, who deserted the Confederate Army, and his case is so flagrant and so plain, that we feel it to be our duty to thus publicly name him. It is WILLIAM JAMES SARGEANT, graduate of the Class of 1856, from Louisa County, Virginia. He was of plain but respectable origin, and was a State Cadet. His course at the Institute was quite creditable, and, after graduating, he followed the profession of teaching. When the War broke out, he was elected captain of a company raised in the "Green Springs," Louisa County, called the "Louisa Grays," which was assigned as Company H to the 23d Virginia Infantry. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Kernstown; and, though, when he was released, he returned to Virginia, he remained only a short while, and then went to Parkersburg, West Virginia, and never returned to the Confederate States.

*Captain John K. Thompson, who was a cadet with Gillespie, and a superb Confederate officer, wrote, in 1910, to the Historiographer of the Institute, as follows:

"A short time before his death, I met poor old Gillespie in Charleston, West Virginia, and he gave me substantially the same account of his desertion that you now give."

Two of Gillespie's classmates testify to his having been a fine mathematician. Major W. A. Obenchain ("First Honor" Graduate), whom Gillespie came very near defeating for first standing in mathematics, and the late Rev. William H. Hill; and, the latter added,—"Gillespie was the only member of the 'Old War Corps' of '61, *who deserted to the enemy.*"

Two of his countymen, both graduates of the Institute, who knew the facts, declared he *deserted the Confederate Cause*. One of these gentlemen, still living, a gallant officer in the C. S. A., thus wrote, October 17, 1903, to the Historiographer of the Institute, in reply to the latter's request for such facts as he possessed bearing on the subject:

"I am certain of Sargeant (his desertion). He was the son of the old overseer at 'Grassdale.' He went out as captain of the company from this neighborhood, which was assigned to the 23d Virginia Infantry, Taliaferro's Brigade, Jackson's Division. At the battle of Kernstown, he allowed himself to be captured, because he was afraid to run, when we were ordered to fall back. At the reorganization of the Army, he was in prison, and was not reëlected captain. When he was exchanged, he came back home [he lived only a few miles from the home of this correspondent]; and, to avoid being conscripted, started out to join Mosby, in the summer of 1862. But he went to West Virginia, near Parkersburg, where he stayed, during the War."

The other 1860 graduate from Sargeant's county who wrote about him was the late gallant Captain William B. Pendleton. He said: "I note what you say about Sargeant, H——, and others. Certainly, it would be proper to enter the record (the honorable record) of all you mention—except Sargeant. As to him, I think if anything is said about him, it should be so expressed as to put him where he belongs. Of course, if there is any doubt about his desertion, he should have the benefit of the doubt. I don't *know* that he deserted, but I have always heard he did; and if it can be shown clearly that he did, it was a crime of the blackest sort, and should be branded as it deserves."

After searching for years, the Historiographer discovered a sister of Captain Sargeant, the last surviving member of his father's family; and she sent him a brief biographical sketch of her brother for his annals. In that part relating to the War she said: "Captain of 'Louisa Grays' 21st (?) Virginia Regiment. Taken prisoner at battle of Kernstown; confined at Fort Delaware three months." Under another heading, she said: "Married Maria Henderson, daughter of Robert Porter Henderson, *Parkersburg, West Virginia.* Married *about 1864* [italics the writer's], exact date unknown"; and she adds: "Removed to California in the early seventies and became assistant professor in a college (exact location unknown), until he lost his hearing, and died in Los Angeles, in the 71st year of his age." (A brother—since died—had previously written that he died "about 1899.")

Captain Samuel V. Fulkerson, in his report of the part borne by the 23d Virginia Infantry, in the battle of Kernstown, March 23, 1862, said: "Captain Sargeant is reported 'missing'."

Upon receiving the sketch above mentioned, the Historiographer addressed the following letter to Sargeant's sister:

"LEE, VA., November 4, 1910.

"MY DEAR MADAM—Your kind letter, enclosing a sketch of your brother, the late Captain William James Sargeant, of Louisa County, Virginia, graduate of the Virginia Military Institute, Class 1856, has just come, and I return my warm acknowledgments.

"The records in my hands show that your brother was commissioned captain of the 'Louisa Grays,' Co. H, 23d (not 21st) Virginia Infantry, C. S. A., but that he was succeeded by Captain Saunders.

"It has been stated to me that after he gave up his command, there were 'rumors' that he left the Confederate Army, and the Confederate States.

"If these rumors are unjust and untrue, I want you to give me the authority to deny them. The memory of your brother, I know, is precious to you; and, as a fellow V. M. I. Alumnus, I want to protect it, if possible. I hope, therefore, you will tell me what he did after being released from prison at Fort Delaware; and whether he rejoined the Confederate Army, and, if so, what command?

"You say he married in Parkersburg, West Virginia, in 1864. That place was within the *enemy's lines*, throughout the War. Possibly you named the wrong place.

"I am, very sincerely, etc."

No reply was ever received to this letter. We are, therefore, reluctantly forced to believe that this *one graduate deserted his flag*, as charged.

APPENDIX I

PREPARED BY JOS. R. ANDERSON.

THE INSTITUTE'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE MEXICAN WAR

While the Virginia Military Institute was yet in its infancy, it found an opportunity to demonstrate its worth as a School of Arms —in the Mexican War. This war was waged to decide the question of boundary between the United States and Mexico. Our government made a proposal to settle the controversy by negotiation, but the authorities of Mexico scornfully rejected it, and military operations quickly ensued. It was known than an Army of Mexicans was gathering in the northern part of the country, for the invasion of Texas, or, at least, for the occupation of the disputed territory.

On the 8th of March, 1846, in obedience to orders from our government, the American Army, under General Zachary Taylor, advanced to the Rio Grande River, took position opposite Matamoros, and hastily erected a fortress, afterwards called Fort Brown. The historian tells us that "on April 26th, General Ampudia, commander of the Mexican frontier, notified General Taylor that hostilities had begun. On the same day, a company of American dragoons, commanded by Captain Thornton, was attacked by a body of Mexicans, east of the Rio Grande River, and, after losing sixteen men in killed and wounded, was obliged to surrender. This was the first bloodshed of the war."*

General Taylor hastened to strengthen the defenses at Point Isobel, and to safeguard the supplies established there, and then set out with a provision train, and an Army of more than two thousand men, to return to Fort Brown which was under the command of Major Brown, with a garrison of three hundred men. "Meanwhile, the Mexicans, to the number of six thousand, had crossed the Rio Grande and taken a strong position at Palo Alto, directly in Taylor's route. At noon, on the 8th of May, the Americans came in sight, and immediately joined battle. After an engagement of five hours' duration, the Mexicans were driven from the field, with the loss of a hundred men. The American Artillery was served with signal effect, while the fighting of the enemy was clumsy and ineffectual. Only four Americans were killed, and forty wounded; but among the former was the gallant and much-lamented Major Ringgold, of the Artillery.

*Ridpath's History of the United States.

"On the following day, General Taylor resumed his march in the direction of Fort Brown. When within three miles of that place, he again came upon the Mexicans who had rallied in full force to dispute his advance. They had selected for their second battlefield a place called Resaca de la Palma. Here, an old river-bed, dry and overgrown with cactus, crossed the road leading to the fort. The enemy's artillery was well posted, and better served than on the previous day; the American lines were severely galled until the brave Captain May, with his regiment of dragoons, charged through a storm of grapeshot, rode over the Mexican batteries, sabred the gunners, and captured La Vega, the commanding general. The Mexicans, abandoning theirs guns and flinging away their accoutrements, fled in a general rout. Before nightfall, they had put the Rio Grande between themselves and the invincible Americans.

"On reaching Fort Brown, General Taylor found that during his absence the place had been constantly bombarded by the guns of Matamoros. But a brave defense had been made, which cost, with other losses and suffering, the life of Major Brown, the commandant.

"Such was the beginning of a war in which Mexico experienced a long list of humiliating defeats. When the news of the battle of the Rio Grande was borne through the Union, the war spirit was everywhere aroused. The President, in a message to Congress, notified that body that the lawless soldiery of Mexico had shed the blood of American citizens, on American soil.

"On the 13th of May, 1846, Congress promptly responded with a declaration that war already existed by the act of the Mexican government. . . . War meetings were held in all parts of the country; and, within a few weeks, nearly three hundred thousand men rushed forward to enter the ranks."*

Among these patriots, stood *twenty-five "V. M. I. Boys."* Here are their names:

A. C. CUMMINGS
H. L. SHIELDS
G. A. PORTERFIELD
B. D. FRY
J. L. BRYAN
R. C. W. RADFORD
ISAAC W. SMITH
C. R. MUNFORD
A. C. LAYNE
B. F. FICKLIN
A. W. SOUTHALL
A. M. MCCORKLE
R. H. KEELING
EDWARD C. CARRINGTON
D. S. LEE
C. P. DEYERLE
W. A. SCOTT
T. S. GARNETT
ANDREW JACKSON
H. W. WILLIAMSON
B. T. HUNTER
J. B. DORMAN
R. G. ROSS
C. E. CARTER
J. E. SLAUGHTER

*Ridpath's History of the United States.

Of the above named, nine were in the regular Army and sixteen in the Volunteers. One was a major (by brevet); three were captains (two of brevet); fifteen were lieutenants; two were non-commissioned officers; and four were privates; and *four* of the twenty-five *met death,* during the War, or owing to the War.

It seems most fitting that brief records of these twenty-five gallant young soldiers—the first sons of their Alma Mater to go to war—should be given in this Military History of the Virginia Military Institute, from 1839 to 1861. We, therefore, proceed to give them.

Major (by brevet) ARTHUR CAMPBELL CUMMINGS, of Washington County, Virginia. Graduated 1844. Son of James and Mary Cummings; born October 1, 1822, on the location of the first settlement made by his great-grandfather, the Rev. Charles Cummings, about three miles west of Abingdon, in about the year 1774.

He was licensed to practise law in 1846. In May, 1846, he raised, and was elected captain of, two different volunteer companies whose services were offered to the President of the United States for the war just beginning; but the offer was declined, as the full quota of volunteers had been received. He was determinded to go to the War, however, and obtained a commission from the President as captain of Co. K, 11th Regiment of U. S. Infantry, which company he and his lieutenants enlisted at Abingdon, Virginia, Chillicothe, Ohio, and Wheeling, Virginia. He was ordered to join his regiment, and reached Vera Cruz with his company, July 1, 1847, and was attached to the command of Major Lally. His command was the first to leave Vera Cruz after the Army under General Scott had begun its march on the City of Mexico. Captain Cummings was dangerously wounded in an engagement with a large guerrilla force at Paso Ovejas, near the National Bridge leading to the City of Mexico; and, on August 15, 1847, he was made brevet major for gallant conduct in that engagement.

He continued to serve with great credit till the War ended. He was mustered out of the service, August 19, 1848. On his return home, he resumed the practice of law. He was commissioned colonel of the Fifth Regiment of Artillery, in the State's Militia, on October 22, 1849.

In May, 1861, he was commissioned colonel of Virginia Volunteers, and was ordered to report to General T. J. Jackson, at Harper's Ferry, and was by him assigned to command the Second (afterwards Tenth) Regiment. In June, 1861, by order of General Jackson, he organized the Third Regiment. He afterwards organized the Thirty-third Regiment, and was assigned to its command; and this regiment became a part of the "Stonewall Brigade." He commanded this regiment at the first battle of

Manassas, and until the reorganization, in 1862. In an able and interesting paper on First Manassas, by Colonel William T. Poague, he thus speaks of Colonel Cummings: "On the 19th of March, 1905, there passed away at Abingdon, Virginia, an old gentleman who, in my opinion, next to Evans, Jackson, and the two commanding generals (Beauregard and Johnston), contributed as much as (and perhaps more than) any other one man to the defeat of the Federals at First Manassas. I refer to Colonel Arthur C. Cummings." (He alludes to the capture by Colonel Cummings' Regiment of the famous Griffin's U. S. Battery.) "At the critical moment," Colonel Poague continues, "just as two Federal regiments moved to the right of the batteries (Griffin's and Ricketts's), for their support and protection—without awaiting orders from a superior—and some time before Jackson ordered the famous charge of his brigade, Cummings threw his men, with the suddenness and force of a thunderbolt, upon McDowell's right flank, delivering a staggering blow that crippled and demoralized his Army to an extent well-nigh incredible, and from which it never recovered." And the gallant Colonel adduces evidence to prove his assertion from eye witnesses, on the other side, such competent and credible witnesses as Major Berry, Chief of Artillery of McDowell's Army, and Captain Griffin himself.

Colonel Poague goes further and claims that Colonel Cummings's Thirty-third Virginia captured Ricketts' Battery also. Colonel Poague further says: "Although one thrown with him [Colonel Cummings] would be impressed with the nobility of his character, and be compelled to recognize his intellectual ability, he would not learn from him—the kind, courteous, pure-hearted, modest gentleman—of the signal service rendered his country in the hour of trial and danger. Peace to his ashes!"

Colonel Cummings three times represented his county in the General Assembly of Virginia. He was also a member, at one time, of the Board of Visitors of the Institute. He married the daughter of the Honorable John M. Preston, of Smyth County, Virginia. His wife and three children died some years before his own death, which occurred at his home at Abingdon, March 19, 1905.

At the March term of the Circuit Court of Washington County, beautiful resolutions were passed by the bar, and ordered to be entered upon the record of the Court, testifying to "those sterling traits of character—the gift of God—which marked his life, and which distinguished his career.

"He was strong in intellect, unbending in integrity, indomitable in will, high in courage, yet he was eminently just and humane in feeling, modest by nature, and gentle as a woman in his bearing towards his fellow-men.

. . . . . .

"In his public life he was esteemed one of the wisest and most conservative men of his day. His excellent judgment, his ability

to weigh men and measures, his knowledge of the rights and needs of his people, and his courage to stand by his convictions, made him at once a leader in legislative and deliberative bodies. The confidence of his constituents in his judgment of public measures was so great that his conclusions, when announced, were generally adopted and followed as correct.

. . . . . .

"Your Committee," thus conclude the resolutions, "offers the foregoing as a true but imperfect tribute to the memory of Colonel Arthur C. Cummings, only adding that he wore the white flower of a blameless life."

Captain DANIEL SMITH LEE, of Shenandoah County, Virginia, matriculated August 26, 1842. He did not complete the whole course. His father was John Lee, of Strasburg, who was born at Winchester, Va., and his mother was Mary P. Hupp, born at Strasburg. He was living at Wheeling, Virginia (now West Virginia), when the Mexican War broke out. He was appointed by President Polk a lieutenant in the U. S. Infantry, February 24, 1847, and aided his former V. M. I. comrade, Captain A. C. Cummings, in organizing Company K, of the 11th U. S. Infantry, of which he was appointed, August 11, 1847, 1st lieutenant, and on the same day was made regimental adjutant. On August 20, 1847, he was brevetted captain "for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battles of Contreras and Cherubusco." On August 14, 1848, he was honorably mustered out of the service.

He later removed to Iowa, and became Adjutant-General of that State. He was afterwards appointed United States Consul at Basle, Switzerland. He returned home, after his term of office expired, and was again appointed to the same post. While in Washington, D. C., he accidentally shot himself in the foot with a pistol, and died there of lockjaw, resulting from the wound, August 15, 1857.

Colonel A. C. Cummings, in an interesting letter to the Historiographer of the Institute, told of a duel Captain Lee fought, while in Mexico, with Lieutenant (afterwards Captain) B. F. Harley, of Philadelphia, of the same regiment, in which Lieutenant Thomas Jonathan Jackson acted as Lee's second. Lee sent the challenge. The duel was fought near the small town of Llrura, near the base of the mountain, going from the City of Mexico, where the 11th Regiment was stationed. The weapons used were Mississippi rifles, at thirty paces. Neither party was hurt. The challenged party (Harley) demanded a second fire, which was declined, and there the matter ended. Colonel Cummings said he did not himself witness the duel, as he was field-officer of the day when it came off, and he was not supposed to know what was going on; but he said he knew the facts were as stated, as he had obtained them from high-toned gentlemen who were present, and witnessed the affair.

Captain Lee was a first cousin of Judge George H. Lee (father of two Old Cadets), of Winchester (and later Clarksburg), member of the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia. His nearest surviving relative now is Mr. R. H. Lee, of Strasburg, Virginia.

Captain HAMILTON LEROY SHIELDS, of Norfolk, Virginia. His father was William Cannon Shields, who was associate editor of the *Beacon* with Hugh Blair Grigsby. His mother was Elizabeth Finch.

At the age of eighteen, he became a member of the first Corps of Cadets that relieved the State Guard at the Lexington Arsenal, on Novmber 11, 1839. July 1, 1841, he was entered as a cadet at the United States Military Academy, and was graduated July 1, 1846, number 24 in a class of 59. Among his classmates, were Generals "Stonewall" Jackson, George E. Pickett, Cadmus M. Wilcox, Dabney H. Maury, and D. R. Jones (afterwards of the Confederate Army), and Generals George B. McClellan, George Stoneman, and Alfred Gibbs, of the Federal Army.

He was immediately assigned as second lieutenant to the Second Artillery; March 3, 1847, he was transferred to the Third Artillery. August 20, 1847, he was brevetted first lieutenant "for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battles of Contreras and Cherubusco"; September 8, 1847, he was brevetted captain "for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battle of Molino del Rey, Mexico." He served throughout the Mexican War, having been engaged in the assault and capture of the Capitol.

For three years, to September 20, 1853, he was judge-advocate of the Eastern Division of the Army; was aide-de-camp to General Wool, from November 15, 1853, to February 15, 1854; was adjutant, Third Artillery, February 15th to March 15, 1854. He resigned from the Army, March 17, 1854. In 1854-7, he was a counsellor-at-law in New York City. In 1857, he became a farmer, and lived near Bennington, Vt. Captain Shields did not serve in the War between the States. He married Caroline Hart, of Troy, New York. Seven of their eight children were living in 1910. On returning from the Mexican War, the City of Norfolk presented him with a sword. He died November 24, 1889.

First Lieutenant BIRKETT DAVENPORT FRY, of Kanawha County, Virginia. He was matriculated in 1840. After one or more years, he resigned to enter West Point. His father was Thornton Fry, grandson of Colonel Joshua Fry, who figured in colonial history. He was educated at Washington College, the Virginia Military Institute, and the United States Military Academy. He did not graduate, however, at the last-named institution, leaving there to study law. He was admitted to the bar in 1846.

On February 24, 1847, he was appointed first lieutenant, Infantry. On April 9, 1847, he was transferred to the United States

Voltigeurs as first lieutenant, of which Joseph E. Johnston was lieutenant-colonel. He was regimental adjutant from June 15th to August 26, 1847 (at Contreras and Cherubusco), and led a company at Molino del Rey and Chapultepec, where he was mentioned as distinguished. After the War, he went across the plains to California, where he remained till 1856. Going then to Nicaragua, he joined Walker's Expedition as colonel and general. He commanded at Granada, and defeated the Army of Guatemala. After the failure of that expedition, he returned to San Francisco, and remained there till 1859, when he went to Alabama and engaged in cotton manufacturing till the opening of the Civil War.

On July 10, 1861, he was commissioned colonel of the Thirteenth Alabama Infantry. At the battle of Seven Pines he was wounded. After an absence of six weeks only, he returned to his regiment, and remained with it till his arm was shattered at Sharpsburg. The surgeon decided to amputate the arm. "What are the chances of my living without an operation?" he inquired. "One in three hundred," was the answer. "Then I will take it," he replied. He rejoined his command in time for Chancellorsville, where he led his brigade (Archer's) on the second day. Here he was again wounded, but did not leave his regiment, commanding it (or the brigade) till the battle of Gettysburg. After the capture of General Archer, on the first day at Gettysburg, he took command of the brigade, and led it in the second famous assault. On July 3d, his brigade was on the right of the division under Pettigrew, and was the brigade of direction for the whole force, being immediately on the left of Pickett's Division; he led it gallantly up Cemetery Ridge, under a fire which melted away his life, until he reached the stone wall, where he fell, shot through the shoulder and the thigh, and again became a prisoner of war.

By a special exchange, he returned to the Army of Northern Virginia, in March, 1864, and was ordered to take command of Barton's Brigade, at Drewry's Bluff, and led it in the battle in which Beauregard drove back Butler's Army. He was then placed in command of Archer's and Walker's Brigades; and this force, with some other troops, he led in the second battle of Cold Harbor, holding the left of the Confederate lines. On May 24, 1864, he had been promoted brigadier-general, and in a few days after the battle of Cold Harbor, he was ordered to Augusta, Georgia, to command the District of South Carolina and Georgia. This command he held till the close of the war.

After the war, he went to Cuba, but in 1868 returned to Alabama and resumed his old business of cotton manufacturing, in which he continued till 1876, when he removed to Florida. After a while, he returned to Alabama, and resided in Montgomery where his wife died. This estimable lady was formerly Martha A. Micou, born in Augusta, Georgia. In 1861, General Fry went to Rich-

mond, Virginia, and engaged in cotton manufacturing, and was president of the Marshall Manufacturing Company of that City until his death, February 5, 1891.*

Second Lieutenant RICHARD CARLTON WALKER RADFORD, of Bedford County, Virginia. He matriculated in July, 1840, and resigned July, 1841, to enter West Point, where he was graduated, July 1, 1845. He was assigned to the First Dragoons as brevet second lieutenant, and was transferred to the Second Dragoons, May 18, 1846, as second lieutenant; transferred to First Dragoons, July 9, 1846.

He served throughout the War with Mexico. On October 24, 1848 (after peace was ratified), he was promoted first lieutenant; on July 9, 1855, he was promoted captain of Dragoons. Resigned, November 30, 1856, having served with gallantry in the Indian Wars from 1848 to 1856.

When the Confederate War began, he promptly offered his services to his State, and was commissioned colonel of the Second Virginia Cavalry,—the first mounted regiment raised and organized in the Virginia Volunteers, and served as such until after the battle of First Manassas for gallantry in which he was personally mentioned by General Joseph E. Johnston. Colonel Radford belonged to Beauregard's Army, and had command of all of his cavalry, twice as many as General Johnston brought from the Valley; and, yet, Johnston promoted Stuart over Radford whom the latter ranked, as Stuart was only a lieutenant-colonel, and had been only a lieutenant in the old Army, while Radford had been captain of Dragoons. Radford was naturally displeased at such treatment. General John B. Floyd offered him the command of his cavalry which he was forming into a brigade (and which was afterwards given to Jenkins). Radford did fine work for Floyd. But General Lee told the Secretary of War that if Floyd were allowed to form a local command (as had been offered him), he would draw to himself all of the West and Southwest Virginia troops; and, as it was regarded as Virginia's pledge that she would give all of her troops to the Confederacy, Floyd's volunteers were disbanded, and Radford retired, having passed the age of conscription.

"He was a born soldier" (General Munford has said), "a superb horseman, and the best disciplinarian I ever saw in camp, and a fine outpost officer. The impress of his martial hand clung to my old regiment, and made it second (except in name) to no regiment in the Confederate Army. It had in it twenty-one V. M. I. officers, and Colonel Radford had handled it in a masterly manner while in command."

Colonel Radford was much hurt by the unjust treatment he had received. He retired to his farm, "Rothsay," in Bedford County,

*This sketch of General Fry is substantially taken from "Confederate Military History," Vol. VII, 1899.

Virginia, after leaving the Army in 1862, where he resided till his death, November 4, 1886.

Colonel Radford was a son of William Radford, of Richmond, Virginia, and Elizabeth Moseley, of Bedford County, Virginia. He was twice married. His first wife was Octavia Duval, and his second, Fannie Steptoe. Four children survive, Mrs. R. H. Claiborne, of Hampton, Virginia, and Messrs. Duval, Walker, and Locksley Radford, of Forest, Virginia.

Second Lieutenant ANDREW JACKSON, of Petersburg, Virginia, was matriculated in 1844, and remained at the Institute till appointed second lieutenant, 3d Infantry, U. S. Army, December 30, 1847. He served in the Mexican War. On March 3, 1855, he was promoted first lieutenant, and served as such till June 6, 1861, when he resigned to enter the Confederate Army in which he rose to be lieutenant-colonel of the 5th South Carolina Infantry.

His parents were John Jackson and Anne Aldridge. Colonel Jackson never married, and died in Petersburg, Virginia, July 31, 1870.

Second Lieutenant ISAAC WILLIAMS SMITH, of Fairfax County, Virginia. Graduated 1847. His father was the Rev. George Archibald Smith, the first graduate of the Episcopal Theological Seminary of Virginia. His mother was Ophelia Williams. Rev. Mr. Smith's health failing, he was compelled to give up the active ministry, and he founded a famous Boys' School at his home in Fairfax County, known as Clarens Institute. From this school went many boys who subsequently became prominent men. Later, he became the editor of the *Southern Churchman*, then and now, the organ of the Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Virginia.

Isaac Smith's paternal grandparents, Hugh Smith and Elizabeth Watson, came to Virginia from Knutsford, England, and Armagh, Ireland, respectively. His maternal grandparents were Isaac Hite Williams, of Fredericksburg, and Lucy Coleman Slaughter, of Culpeper County, Virginia, the latter a daughter of Captain Philip Slaughter, an officer of the Revolution. These grandparents came to Alexandria, Virginia, during the closing years of the 18th century.

After graduating at the Institute, the subject of this sketch was appointed second lieutenant in company K, of the U. S. Voltigeurs, April 9, 1847, and served, in the detachment under Major Lally, in the war with Mexico, during one campaign, and was then detailed for recruiting service at Baltimore. August 31, 1848, he was honorably mustered out of the military service.

"In 1849-'50, he was assistant engineer and astronomer on the survey of the parallel between the Creek and Cherokee Indians, under Lieutenants Sitgreaves and Woodruff, U. S. A. In 1851, he was assistant astronomer, and first assistant, on the survey of the

parallel between Iowa and Minnesota. In 1852, he was resident engineer on the survey and construction of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, Virginia. In 1853-'54, he was assistant engineer on the Pacific Railroad surveys and explorations, under Lieutenants Livingston and Parker, of the U. S. Corps of Engineers. He then went to Washington Territory, and became engineer and special agent for the construction of lighthouses on the Straits of Tuca and Shoalwater Bay, under Major Hartman Bache, Corps Engineers, U. S. A. This work was accomplished under considerable difficulty and peril.

"In the Indian uprising of 1855-56, he served as aide-de-camp on the staff of Captain I. I. Stevens, then Governor of the Territory, and saw much active service. After this, he was engaged for a year or more under his life-long friend and fellow-veteran of the Mexican War, Major James Tilton, as deputy surveyor, and surveyed several of the meridian and standard parallel lines then being established through the trackless and all but impassable forests of Western Washington. He was then appointed Register of the United States Land Office for the Olympia District, which included the vast Territory of Washington.

"In 1862, he joined in the rush to the newly-discovered places in Cariboo, B. C., where he remained only a short time. On his return from the mines, he went to his native state, and tendered his services to the Confederate Government. Receiving the appointment of captain of engineers (later being brevetted colonel), he was continuously employed until the close of the War upon the defenses before Petersburg and Richmond. After the War, he returned home, the possessor solely (as described in his own words) 'of an old gray uniform—much tattered and worn, a good horse, and a large amount of experience.' He soon received the appointment of division engineer on the Imperial Mexican Railroad from Vera Cruz to Mexico (under Andrew Talcott, Chief Engineer), and was placed in charge of the line from Paso del Macho to Ougaba. He remained in Mexico during the years 1867 and 1868, engaged upon this work, and as chief engineer and inspector of drainage and hydraulic work, near Tepic. In 1869, he was engineer of construction on the Western Pacific Railroad (later merged in the Central Pacific).

"In 1870, he was placed in charge of surveys along the Columbia and Cowlitz Rivers, in Washington Territory, for the Northern Pacific Railroad. After a short time, he was given the construction of the locks and a canal around the falls of the Willamette River, near Portland, Oregon,—a work of great magnitude and importance. The contractors, after a year, failing to show satisfactory results, the work was carried forward by Colonel Smith alone, with great rapidity. A large State subsidy depended on the work being completed in time. The Colonel accomplished the desired end, and not only secured for the company the desired subsidy,

but turned over a work which, for excellence of design and thoroughness of execution, marked him as an engineer of notable skill and ability.

"In 1878, the Northern Pacific Railroad called him again into its service, and placed him in charge of the survey of the new terminal at Tacoma. In February, 1875, he visited Peru, but finding the country again in the throes of civil war, and all railway construction stopped, he returned at once to California, and made surveys in Arizona for the Southern Pacific Railroad. A year later, in association with Colonel George H. Mendall, of the Corps of Engineers, U. S. A., he made an exhaustive study of, and report upon, the water supply for the City of San Francisco. As Colonel Mendall's chief assistant, he had charge of the extensive surveys, including all the available sources of supply.

"From April 1876 to April 1878, Colonel Smith was one of the Board of Railroad Commissioners for the State of California, the other Commissioners being John T. Doyle, Esq., and General George Stoneman. In May, 1878, he was appointed chief engineer of the Sacramento River Drainage District Commission. The project under consideration for a drainage canal was shown to be impracticable, and was abandoned. From this time till the spring of 1880, Colonel Smith was chief engineer for the Board of State Harbor Commissioners of California, in which capacity he designed the sea-wall for the water front of San Francisco, and constructed upwards of a mile of it. In April, 1880, he was placed by the Northern Pacific Railroad in full charge of the Cascade Mountain surveys. The route finally adopted was surveyed and mapped under his direction.

"In September, 1881, he was appointed chief engineer of the Oregon Pacific Railroad Company, then constructing a line eastward from Yaquima Bay, Oregon. He remained with this company two years, completing the line as far as Corvallis (about 60 miles), and then resigned, and returned to Tacoma, Washington, where he made a report of the water supply of that City. During the years 1883 to 1885, he was chief engineer for the Tacoma Light and Water Company, designing and constructing the gas and water plants for that City, at an expense of nearly half a million dollars, and superintending the works for some months after completion.

"Early in 1886, he was called to the work of determining the future water supply of the City of Portland, Oregon. The cost of the proposed scheme being too great for the financial ability of the City at that time, he was placed in charge of the existing system, as engineer and superintendent, and continued to hold this position until his death. His plans for the new system were carried out before Colonel Smith's death, at an outlay of nearly three million dollars. This, his *magnum opus*, was the last of a

long series of beneficent works he had constructed for the comfort, health, and safety of mankind; and he was happily permitted to live to see it completed, and in successful operation, two years before his death.

"For several years his leisure moments were spent in the preparation of a treatise on the 'Theory of Deflection and of Latitudes and Departures, with Special Application of Curvilinear Surveys and Alignments of Railway Tracks,' which he published; and, only a few months before his death, he prepared a paper on the 'Flow of Water in Wrought and Cast Iron Pipes from 28 to 42 Inches, Diameter,' for publication in the *Transactions* of this Society. He became a member of the American Society of Civil Engineers on October 1, 1878.

"Colonel Smith's reputation as an engineer of ability and integrity became established early, and his services were continually in demand."

The above sketch of this peerless Old Cadet of the V. M. I. is abridged from a memoir of Colonel Smith, by Messrs. D. D. Clarke, M. Am. Soc. C. E., Edward Tilton, C. E., and Robert P. Maynard, C. E., which appears in the *Transactions* of the American Society of Civil Engineers. It is a subject of keen regret that we can not reproduce the memoir in its entirety. One who was intimately associated with Colonel Smith at various times, thus speaks of him (we can quote only a portion of his beautiful tribute): " . . . I can truly say that there was nothing in my whole acquaintance with him but that tended to increase my admiration and respect for the man. He was one of the few engineers whom I have been associated with who combined a thorough theoretical knowledge of mathematical principles with a practical grasp of the best methods for the solution of the various problems that were being constantly presented to him, in the conduct of his work.

. . . . . .

"There is one trait which characterized the Colonel to a marked degree, and that is his absolute integrity and incorruptibility;—another trait of his character was his thorough unselfishness. He was not only a devoted son and brother; but, in his intercourse with the men in his employ, he was always thinking of their comfort and welfare, rather than his own. Certainly, in all my experience, I do not know of another man who could equal the Colonel in his rare combination of strength and purity and gentleness of character. . . . I shall always feel that it has been one of the privileges of my life to have known as intimately as I did a man of the character of Colonel Smith."

Colonel Smith never married. His parents were his first care, and were always lovingly considered, as were his sisters later, and

as long as he lived. Two distinguished younger brothers of Colonel Smith are also graduates of the V. M. I.—Judge George H. Smith (Colonel of the 62d Virginia Infantry, C. S. A.) and the Hon. Francis L. Smith—both, happily, still living.

Second Lieutenant JAMES EDWIN SLAUGHTER, of Culpeper County, Virginia, was born near the centre of the late battlefield of Cedar Run, and at the foot of Slaughter's (Cedar) Mountain. He was a son of Major Daniel F. Slaughter (and grandson of Captain Philip Slaughter, of the Revolution), and his wife, Letitia Madison, daughter of General William Madison, a brother of the President.

He was admitted as a Pay Cadet to the Virginia Military Institute, August 6, 1845, in his 18th year. When the Mexican War broke out, he resigned his cadetship, and applied for a commission in the Army. He was appointed (March 5, 1847) second lieutenant, Infantry, and, on April 9, 1847, was transferred to the Voltigeurs.

He served in General Scott's command, and was in the battles which took place in and near the City of Mexico, which resulted in the capture of that City. He continued in the Army (being promoted first lieutenant, First Artillery, August 3, 1852) till the Civil War broke out. Resigning then, and returning to the South, he was appointed colonel, and rendered important service in South Carolina, Alabama, and Florida.

He took an active part in the defense of Mobile against the attack of Admiral Farragut. After this, he was promoted brigadier-general, and as such served in Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Later, he was put in command of the troops on the Rio Grande River, in Texas. While thus serving, the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia took place. General Slaughter fired the last shots of the Confederacy; then crossed into Mexico; and *never surrendered.*

He lived in Mexico for several years, and then returned to his native country, and made his home in Mobile, Alabama. He adopted the profession of civil engineering, and did harbor and other work for the United States Government. He was also postmaster at Mobile for some years. He later removed to New Orleans, where he lived until his death, January 1, 1901. He never married.

Surgeon CHARLES PETER DEYERLE, of Roanoke County, Virginia. He was as a boy ambitious for military training; and, therefore, when the Institute first opened its doors, he became a member of the Corps that relieved the State Guard at the old Arsenal in Lexington.

He was graduated in 1842. Becoming a physician, with a diploma from the famous Jefferson Medical College of Philadelphia,

in 1846, he began the practice of his profession at his home. Soon, however, he saw the war cloud lowering over Mexico, and applied for and received the position of assistant surgeon in the Army; and was ordered immediately to report at Tampico, Mexico, for service in the field. He joined a detachment of the Sixth Infantry at New Orleans, embarking for Vera Cruz, in answer to the call of General Scott to report at that place. He left with this detachment on the 9th of April, 1846, and, upon reaching Mexico, was assigned to the Second Infantry, in General Worth's First Division, and served with it through the campaign, on General Worth's staff, witnessing many of the battles in which Worth's Division was engaged. While not in the line, he was yet often exposed to danger, and was handsomely complimented for his gallant conduct on the field.

He entered the City of Mexico with the Army of General Scott, and remained in Mexico until peace was ratified. General Worth's command was the last of the troops to leave the City, on June 18, 1848. On reaching Fort Hamilton, New York, in August, 1848, Surgeon Deyerle was ordered to be in readiness, in limited time, to sail for California, as Medical Director.

Remaining only ten days at his home, he sailed from New York with the 6th Infantry; but, owing to detention at Old Point Comfort, on account of sickness aboard, the *Marie Adelina* did not get away from that port until December 28, 1848. The vessel went around South America, touching at Rio de Janeiro and Valparaiso, having a long, rough voyage, reaching California July 5, 1849.

He was stationed for several years at Benicia Barracks, when that section of the country was wild and in an unsettled condition; and he was much exposed in the many expeditions after the Indians and the other marauding parties then infesting that (then) faraway land. Cut off from home, country and his old army friends, he experienced a hard life and many privations, and his health suffered in consequence. He continued to decline, and the change to a military post, two hundred miles up the coast, still further depleted his failing health. By request, he returned to Benicia where, after a few days, he died on the 30th of October, 1858, and was buried at that place. His remains were subsequently removed to Virginia and placed in the family lot in the beautiful cemetery at Salem.

He was a noble man, and sleeps well after his brief but faithful service to his country.

His gallant younger brother, Captain M. P. Deyerle, also an old "V. M. I. Boy," was killed in the C. S. A.

Captain EDWARD CODRINGTON CARRINGTON, of Botetourt County, Virginia. His father was General Edward C. Carrington, of Hali-

fax County, Virginia, to whom his State presented a sword for gallantry in the War of 1812. His great-grandfather was Judge Paul Carrington, Jr., a son of Judge Paul Carrington of the first Court of Appeals, of Virginia. His mother was Eliza Henry Preston, daughter of General Francis Preston, of Abingdon, Virginia; and his maternal grandmother was Sallie Campbell, daughter of General William Campbell, of King's Mountain fame, and his wife, Bettie Henry, sister of Patrick Henry.

Carrington entered the Institute in July, 1841, and resigned July 6, 1843. When scarcely twenty-one years of age, he was elected captain of Company A, First Virginia Regiment which served in the Mexican War with great credit. On his return from the war, the Virginia Legislature presented him a sword for services in Mexico. He became editor of the *Valley Whig*, in Fincastle, Virginia. He was sent to the Legislature, and was probably the only Whig elected from Botetourt County in forty years. When twenty-eight years old, he removed to Washington City, and began the practice of law. He was one of the revisers of the District Code, and soon won a national reputation from being engaged in many important cases.

He was made captain of the Washington Light Infantry, one of the most celebrated organizations in the country. He was later made brigadier-general of the District Militia; and, at the commencement of the War between the States, he declared himself for the Union. He came to Virginia, and made many speeches, while the Virginia Convention was in session. He declared if his State would remain in the Union, he would share her fate, but in no event would he consent to the destruction of the Union. General Scott and Attorney-General Bates recommended him for the position of United States District Attorney for the District of Columbia. President Lincoln promptly issued his commission, and he held the position for nearly ten years, under Lincoln, Johnson, and Grant.

He died, as he had lived, an earnest Christian, in the year 1892. [It is interesting to note that two brothers of General Carrington served gallantly in the Confederate Army, namely, the superb Major James McDowell Carrington (V. M. I.), of the Artillery Corps of the Army of Northern Virginia, and the noble Captain William Campbell Preston Carrington, of Company A, First Missouri Infantry, who was killed in battle at Baker's Creek, Mississippi, having previously been wounded twice.]

First Lieutenant GEORGE ALEXANDER PORTERFIELD, of Berkeley County, Virginia (W. Va.). Graduate, V. M. I., Class 1844. Elected first lieutenant of Company A, First Virginia Infantry (Colonel Hamtramck, commanding). Appointed adjutant at Buena Vista, July 10, 1847. Colonel Hamtramck succeeded General Caleb

Cushing, commanding the brigade. Lieutenant Porterfield was appointed acting assistant adjutant-general of the brigade, composed of the 1st Virginia, 2d Mississippi, and the North Carolina Regiments.

October 27, 1847, General Wool succeeded General Taylor in command of the Army of Occupation, and removed his headquarters to Monterey. General Taylor returned to the States on leave. Colonel Hamtramck succeeded General Wool in command of the division stationed at, or near, Buena Vista, and Porterfield relieved Captain (afterwards Major-General) Irvin McDowell of his duties as assistant adjutant-general of the division, and remained in that position until the end of the war. He was complimented very highly by General Wool, who offered him a permanent place on his staff, when the treaty of peace was signed; but he declined the offer, and sailed for home, reaching there July 17, 1848.

For a few years, he was editor of the *Martinsburg Gazette*, and then filled a government position in Washington for several years; but in 1855 he returned to his farm, and was there when the Confederate War broke out. He at once offered his services to his State, and was appointed colonel of volunteers, in May, 1861, and raised a command in Northwestern Virginia of nearly one thousand men. He was then put in command of the 25th Virginia Infantry. He afterwards served on Major-General Loring's staff, and, later, in command of a brigade composed of the 12th Georgia, the remnant of the 25th Virginia (about one-half of this regiment had been surrendered by General Pegram), Hansbrough's Battalion, and a battery of artillery, until the reorganization of the Army, in May, 1862, when he was left out of the service by an illegal election in the remnant of the 25th Regiment. He was recommended to the Secretary of War by Major-General Edward Johnston for promotion to the rank of brigadier-general, but was not appointed. Believing he had been unjustly treated, he left the service. He was arrested by General Banks, of the Federal Army, in July 1862, but was soon paroled, and did not return to the Army.

After the War, he entered the banking business. He is still living (1914) in Charles Town, West Virginia, one of the oldest Alumni of the Institute, and is one of the half a dozen surviving members of the famous Aztec Club composed of veteran officers who served in the Mexican War, one of the last of whom to die having been Lieutenant-General Simon Bolivar Buckner, C. S. A.

WILLIAM ARTHUR SCOTT, of Dinwiddie County, Virginia, was matriculated in the summer of 1848, and spent two years at the Institute, going thence to the College of William and Mary where he remained one year, and then left to go as a volunteer to the War. He was elected first lieutenant of the Amelia Company, which was

attached to the First Virginia Infantry. He served gallantly till the War ended.

About this time the rush to California began, and on March 8, 1849, he sailed for the newly-discovered gold field, from Hampton Roads. He died in California a short while after arriving there.

His grandfather, James Scott (a brother of General Winfield Scott), served in the War of 1812, as a captain in the Virginia forces; and his father had served in the War of the Revolution.

JAMES LAWRENSON BRYAN, of Petersburg, Virginia, was graduated in the Class of 1848. He was born in Cambridge, Maryland, August 25, 1824, but was carried by his father to Norfolk, Virginia, and thence to Petersburg, while still a small boy, and was entered at the Institute from the latter place, in the summer of 1840.

He established the Petersburg Military Academy, soon after leaving the Institute; and assisted in organizing in that City a military company. When war with Mexico was declared, his old company volunteered, and was attached to the First Virginia Infantry, and he went with that regiment to Mexico as first lieutenant of the Petersburg company, and served with gallantry to the end of the war. After he returned home, he studied medicine, and settled first at Taylor's Island, Maryland, to practise his profession.

In 1866, he removed to his old home at Cambridge, where he lived the rest of his long life. After some years, he entered the Ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and combined the duties of a clergyman with those of a practising physician; but he performed his onerous clerical duties without accepting any compensation.

Soon after going to Cambridge, he founded a military academy there. But before a great while both his school and himself were absorbed in the Public School System. He retained through all political changes, until 1898, when his health became shattered, his position of School Examiner for his county. He took great interest in the development of the agricultural resources of his State; and, in 1886, was elected President of the Maryland Agricultural College, but declined the position. He was a member of the State Board of Education until ill-health caused him to resign. Many of his wise suggestions were embodied into laws enacted by the Legislature for the better conduct of the schools of the State. He was everywhere regarded as one of the first educators of his State.

Dr. Bryan always stood for the moral uplift of the community, in every way. He was a fearless man, and never shrank from the performace of any public or private duty, however arduous or

dangerous. His course throughout the Civil War, and during the period of Reconstruction, when he was never afraid to stand up for the principles in which he believed, was evidence of this. He was an ardent Democrat and Southerner, but voted for President McKinley, as he believed in the single gold standard.

He was second to no one in devotion to his Alma Mater—the V. M. I. In 1889, he attended her Semi-Centennial Celebration; and, to his dying day, talked of the pleasure and happiness he enjoyed on that momentous occasion in mingling again with some of the beloved comrades of his happy young manhood when he wore the old Cadet coatee.

He spent his whole life doing good; and, when he went from us "to put on immortality," he left upon all whom his beautiful life had touched the impress of his high character and holy life.

Death came to him on November 6, 1904.

THOMAS STUART GARNETT, M. D., of Westmoreland County, Virginia, matriculated in 1840. After remaining several years at the Institute, he went to the University of Virginia for the purpose of studying medicine which he had selected as his profession in life; and such was the thoroughness of his training, and the extent of his attainments, that he remained at the University only one year, and was admitted to the honor of graduation in 1845.

He settled in Caroline County, Virginia, and remained there until the early part of the year 1846, when, responding to the call of patriotic duty, and to the soldierly impulse which had been trained at the Virginia Military Institute, he joined as first lieutenant a company of volunteers raised by Captain Smith P. Bankhead, which was incorporated in the First Virginia Regiment (Infantry) which served through the Mexican War. Lieutenant Garnett followed the regiment through the whole of the campaign in which it was engaged; subsequently assuming the duties of adjutant of the regiment; and adding to these his professional services as a surgeon, whenever occasion made such demands on his skill and generosity.

Returning from the Mexican War in 1848, he married, and immediately resumed the practise of his profession at the county seat of Westmoreland, where he was soon elected colonel of the Westmoreland militia.

At the call of his country in 1861, he unhesitatingly renounced all "luxurious delights" to join with his countrymen in their struggle for liberty. In the spring of 1861, he was unanimously elected captain of a volunteer company of cavalry from his neighborhood, known as Lee's Light House," afterwards as Company C, 9th Virginia Cavalry. In June, he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the 48th Virginia Infantry. He was wounded at the battle of

Cedar Run, while commanding the 2d Brigade of the "Stonewall Division," and remained in the saddle five hours after being shot, in his exalted sense of duty.

In 1863, shortly before the battle of Chancellorsville, he received his commission as colonel of his regiment; and, while heroically leading the 2d Brigade of the "Stonewall Division" on that bloody field, was mortally wounded. He bore his bodily suffering with unflinching courage and unmurmuring patience until the following morning when he died, in the prime of manhood, and with a future promising a broader sphere of usefulness and higher honors.

Second Lieutenant CARLTON RADFORD MUNFORD, of Richmond, Virginia, matriculated 1841. His father was William Munford, graduate of William and Mary College, member of both houses of the General Assembly of Virginia, from Mecklenburg County, and the accomplished scholar who translated Homer's Iliad; and his grandfather was Colonel Robert Munford, who was a captain in George Washington's Regiment, and served on his staff in the Indian War (see Bland Papers). His mother was a daughter of Captain William Radford, who was the son of Captain William Radford of the Virginia Navy in the Revolutionary War, and who was captured in the West Indies, incarcerated in the Tower of London, and escaped through the instrumentality of Lafayette. Thus it is seen this handsome, promising, and gallant young man inherited a fondness for arms.

Leaving the Institute in 1842, he spent the following session at the University of Virginia. When the First Virginia Regiment was raised for the Mexican War, he was associated with Captain Carrington and Lieutenant Porterfield (both Institute Alumni) in organizing Company A, of which he became second lieutenant.

His career was very brief, for he died upon the "field of honor" in a duel with Captain Washington S. Mahan of his regiment, near China, in Mexico. Colonel George A. Porterfield, his friend and classmate at the Institute and his fellow-officer in Mexico, thus speaks of the sad tragedy: "I had been sent to Camergo on official business and arrived on May 21. That evening, an express came in with the news that a fatal meeting had taken place between Lieutenant Munford of my company and Lieutenant Mahan of Captain Bankhead's company. I started back on the 24th to China (a small town half-way between Camergo and Monterey), where my battalion was stationed; and, on the roadside near China, I saw a fresh grave which I learned was that of my friend and classmate, Lieutenant Carlton R. Munford. He had died on the night of May 22d, after intense suffering. The duel was fought about a mile west of China. The weapons used were muskets, loaded by agreement as each contestant might think proper. Munford used

the usual cartridge of a ball and three buckshot; Mahan loaded with buckshot. They advanced until about 50 yards apart; they then raised their pieces and advanced until 20 yards apart, when both fired at precisely the same time. Both fell, apparently dead, and were carried into town on litters. Several buckshot had passed through Munford's bowels;—one through Mahan's breast; he lingered about two weeks, and died. Captain Young and Bankhead were witnesses of the duel."

First Lieutenant Thomas S. Garnett, M. D. (V. M. I.), of the same regiment, was also present, in the capacity (it is inferred) of surgeon.

Lieutenant Mahan was a son of Professor Dennis H. Mahan of the United States Military Academy, and Lieutenant Munford was an uncle of General Thos. T. Munford (V. M. I.). Colonel Porterfield added that General Taylor was very severe upon the officers (and especially Major Jubal A. Early, who was in command of the regiment at the time) for permitting the duel to take place.

General A. C. Cummings also wrote, as follows, of Lieutenant Munford: "I knew him well and esteemed him highly, and have a very pleasant recollection of our association together at the Institute. He was in the Mexican War, but I never met him in Mexico. I was in the army commanded by General Scott, on the line from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico; and he on the line of the Rio Grande, under the command of General Taylor; and we were thus widely separated. He was in the volunteer regiment from Virginia, commanded by Colonel John F. Hamtramck, the lieutenant-colonel being Thomas Beverly Randolph, and the Major, the late General Jubal A. Early. He was killed in a duel with Lieutenant Washington S. Mahan; and, according to the published account—at the time, they fought with army muskets, and were both killed."

In this connection, the following order will be of interest:

"HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF OCCUPATION,
"MONTEREY, December 10, 1847.

"ORDERS—No. 184.

"The President of the United States has directed that a Court of Inquiry be instituted to investigate certain allegations and charges contained in a letter signed by John Ashton, Jr., George M. Kiem, John Davis, and others, dated Philadelphia, September, 1847, in relation to a duel said to have taken place near China, Mexico, on, or about, the 20th of May, 1847, between 2d Lieutenants Carlton R. Munford and Washington S. Mahan, of the regiment of Virginia Volunteers, which resulted in the death of the parties engaged; and to which, it is alleged, Captain Smith P. Bankhead and John P. Young, and 1st Lieutenant Thomas S. Garnett, all of the Virginia Volunteers, were accessories.

"A Court of Inquiry will therefore assemble at Buena Vista, Mexico, at 10 o'clock A. M., on the 10th instant, or as soon thereafter as practicable, for the purpose referred to above. The Court will report the facts, and give an opinion on the merits of the case.

" 'Details for the Court:

"Colonel Charles Clarke, Mississippi Regiment Volunteers.
"Major M. S. Stokes, North Carolina Regiment Volunteers.
"Captain P. M. Henry, North Carolina Regiment Volunteers.
"1st Lieutenant John F. Reynolds, 3d Regiment Artillery, is appointed Judge-Advocate.

"By command of Brigadier-General Wool,

"IRVIN MCDOWELL,
"Assistant Adjutant-General.

"Official,

"G. A. PORTERFIELD,
"Assistant Artillery Adjutant-General."

The findings of the Court are not known to this writer; nor has he ever heard what was the cause of the duel which thus brought two such promising careers to an untimely end.

Second Lieutenant ROBERT HENRY (?) KEELING, of Tidewater, Virginia. In September, 1848, he was entered at the Institute, and was graduated in the Class of 1846, standing well up in his class on general merit. His father was the Rev. Harry Keeling, a Baptist Minister who lived in Richmond at the time he matriculated his son at the Institute. Shortly after graduating, he was commissioned second lieutenant in the First Virginia Volunteers, and served in this capacity during the Mexican War.

From the close of this War until the summer of 1861, his home was in Alabama, where he had been a teacher, and, finally, principal of a male academy, at Tuskegee. He promptly organized a company, composed principally of his students, and came with it to Virginia. This company was attached to the 18th Alabama Infantry.

In the battle of Seven Pines, May 31, 1862, he was instantly killed, while leading his regiment (acting colonel) in a charge upon the enemy's works. He left a widow and five children.

Those who knew him represented him as a brave, generous, and strictly honorable gentleman who was greatly beloved by friends and comrades.

Second Lieutenant HARRY WATSON WILLIAMSON, of Norfolk, Virginia. He was a younger brother of General Williamson who was in the first Faculty of the Institute, and served as a distinguished and popular professor until his death, in 1888. He

graduated at the V. M. I. in 1845. In 1846, he was appointed second lieutenant in the First Virginia Volunteers, and went with the regiment to Mexico. A part of the time during the War, he was attached to the famous battery of Captain Braxton Bragg (later General in the Confederate Army). He served with conspicuous gallantry during the War with Mexico.

In 1861, at the beginning of the Confederate War, he was captain of a volunteer organization previously raised in Norfolk, known as Company F, which was stationed at Craney Island. After the evacuation of Norfolk, this company, with others, was marched to Suffolk, and thence to Petersburg, and was placed in the 6th Virginia Regiment, Mahone's Brigade, and was then known as Company G of that regiment. Later, Captain Williamson was promoted to lieutenant-colonel of the 6th Virginia Infantry.

He was wounded at Second Manassas; again at the Wilderness; lost a hand at Spottsylvania Courthouse, and an arm at the Crater. At Drewry's Bluff, he commanded 600 sharpshooters, and at the battle of Malvern Hill, he commanded his regiment.

In the winter of 1864, he was incapacitated for further service in the field, and was appointed an assistant professor at the Institute. After the War, he was a civil engineer, and in 1876 was appointed Librarian of the Institute. On October 24, 1861, he married Patty Green, daughter of Captain William Green of the U. S. Navy. At the time of his death he was a widower, and he left no children. He died in Lexington, Virginia, October 10, 1884, and was buried in the Cadet Cemetery.

Second Lieutenant BEVERLEY T. HUNTER, of Martinsburg, Virginia, matriculated by his sister in Louisiana, July 18, 1845. Son of Moses T. Hunter, a brilliant lawyer and wit, and a soldier in the War of 1812, and his wife Mary Snicker. His parents dying while their two daughters and three sons were very young, the latter went to live with their father's sister, the wife of Judge Henry St. George Tucker, professor of law at the University of Virginia.

In this happy home they remained until the marriage of one of the sisters to Mr. Alfred Conrad Weeks, a large sugar planter on the Bayou Teche, Louisiana. The unmarried sister, Miss Fannie Washington Hunter, also went to Louisiana, and lived with Mr. and Mrs. Weeks. She assumed the sole care of her three younger brothers, and never was sister more devoted. It was she who signed the matriculation papers for her two brothers, Henry St. George Tucker (see sketch elsewhere in this book) and Beverley T. Hunter, when they both entered the Institute. Beverley had spent but one year at the Institute when the War with Mexico occurred. His home being in Louisiana, he volunteered as a second lieutenant in the Louisiana Mounted Volunteers. On his return to Louisiana

he began the study of law, and was thus engaged when the misguided patriot, Narciso Lopez, organized his ill-fated expedition to free Cuba, in 1850. Beverley Hunter joined Lopez, and served under Saunders in Crittenden's command, as second lieutenant, until his tragic death, August 18, 1851.

His elder brother, Henry St. George, who had also been a cadet, was at this time an ensign (later, acting lieutenant) in the United States Navy, serving on Commodore Perry's flagship; and his younger brother was a civil engineer, engaged in building the Memphis & Charleston Railroad. It does not seem out of place to quote here a part of a letter from Miss Fannie Washington Hunter, his sister, to her brother Brooke, at Memphis:

"BELLE GROVE (ST. MARY'S PARISH, LA),
"September 18, (1851).

"I have dated and commenced this letter on my dear Brooke's birthday, that he might see I thought of him. I have postponed finishing this from day to day in the hope of receiving some definite intelligence in relation to our dear Bev, but we are still in the same state of suspense; and, although I can not say I hope, still, I can not feel that he is gone from our midst forever, until I learn something from those who saw him last. We have written to all of the prisoners who have been released, and think we must obtain some information before long. We saw from the papers a list of officers in which his company formed part of Crittenden's command. Van Fletcher was the first lieutenant under Saunders and Bev, second; so he at least must have known him, and can tell where he last saw him. I have always thought he was amongst that twenty who were shot, while guarding the wounded, for that is so like Bev. God only knows where he has fallen, and very probably we shall never know, and with all his bright hopes he will fill a nameless grave. I must thank you, my dear Brooke, for your last kind letter; it was indeed a balm to my heart, and it rises in thankfulness to my Heavenly Father for having spared me such a blessing and comfort, as you are to me; for never have you—except for anxiety for your health—given me a sore heart, and in all of our intercourse I don't remember a single circumstance to give me pain; and no one can conceive the comfort of looking back and seeing so much to give comfort, under the sad circumstances we are now placed in. I feel so thankful that my dear Bev and I always got along harmoniously, and that I was placed in circumstances to add somewhat to his comfort, and in no part of his life was he ever more kind and considerate than the latter part of it; and I shall never cease to be grateful that I came out here last winter. We had a most touching letter from Mr. ——'s brother, a few days ago, begging what information we could give of his brother, and saying that his brother spoke in the highest terms of Bev. I wrote

him everything that I thought would give comfort on such an occasion.

. . . . . .

"I saw from the papers, a few days ago, that Hal's (Henry St. George's) vessel was at Acapulco, awaiting dispatches from Washington. They will sail to the Sandwich Islands; from there to California; and then home, which will be, I suppose, next spring.

. . . . . .

"May God bless you, prays,

"Your sister,

"FANNY."

But the devoted sister's worst forebodings were, alas, realized! All doubts of her idolized brother's cruel death were soon removed; and in the *Winchester Virginian* appeared this touching obituary:

"BEVERLEY T. HUNTER

"The uncertainty which developed the fate of the young gentleman whose name heads this notice has hitherto restrained those by whom his memory is highly esteemed from paying a tribute to the chivalry and worth of his character. But recent accounts have dispelled this uncertainty, and have ascertained that he is no longer among the living.

"Mr. Hunter was born in Martinsburg, and was the son of the late Moses T. Hunter, Esq., of that place, and was at the time of his death twenty-five years of age. He was by nature ardent and enthusiastic; in character, brave, gallant, generous, true. He combined a disposition which was gentle, affectionate and kind, with a spirit full of daring and eager for adventure. Few men have ever realized in life the dreams of boyhood so nearly as the subject of this notice. With nothing of unamiability in his intercourse, but with the reverse thoughts of battle and strife, of high and noble contention for right against the power of wrong, of enterprise demanding struggle in order to win victory,—seemed from childhood to fill his soul.

"Accordingly, when the War with Mexico broke out, though engaged in an occupation which seemed to please him, he was restless and impatient, until he left his native State (he was a cadet at the Virginia Military Institute, at this time) for the avenue of battle; and, although it was not his fortune to be in those engagements which have given immortality to so much heroism and daring, he gained distinction wherever there was strife, by his fearless and bold character. Peace found him prepared for more sober life in which he honorably and industriously engaged for an independence, in the State of Louisiana.

"During the last summer, the story of Cuban wrongs suffered under Spanish outrage, together with the fitting out of the Lopez Expedition, and the excitement thereupon, again aroused the spirit of young Hunter in a course which commended itself to his romantic love for adventure, and to his hearty sympathy in all movements which had liberty as their object. He joined that ill-fated expedition with high, pure and noble resolution to strike one blow, as he believed, in behalf of down-trodden Cuba against Spanish despotism. He may have been mistaken in his views—he may have been deceived by the representations of things—but his heart responded to none other than a noble motive, and recoiled from every incentive which was mean or sordid.

"He was at one time, on his arrival in Cuba, with Crittenden's command. Separated from the latter by events which it is unnecessary to detail (along with about eighteen others), he avoided the butchery to which they were mercilessly devoted, and found a fate more congenial to his daring nature.*

"From his intrepid conduct and unshrinking firmness, he was selected as the commander of the little band who were with him. The day after their separation from Crittenden's force, they were attacked by a considerable body of Spaniards who called upon them to surrender. Hunter cried out, 'Never!' In the front rank, urging his command to the fray, and fighting (says our informant) like a tiger, he was shot down, and died instantly. With the exception of four who escaped, his friends shared the same fate.

"Thus perished, in an unfortunate expedition whose attractive power has cast the pall of mourning and grief over so many hearts in the Union, one of those gallant and chivalrous spirits who need but opportunity to gain a brilliant and shining reputation.

"Cuba, we fear, has shown herself untrue to her own liberty, and unworthy of his sacrifice to it. There is, however, a great source of pride in the reflection that there was nothing in the conduct, or motives, of Mr. Hunter, which would not have enabled any cause,—which does not cast honor upon his name, and cause the memory of his virtues to be more fondly cherished and embalmed in the hearts of his friends."

"They made him a grave too cold and damp
For a heart so warm and true."

Second Lieutenant ALEXANDER CASSIUS LAYNE, of Alleghany County, Virginia; matriculated 1842. He was a son of the Hon. Douglas B. Layne who represented his county in the Virginia Assembly for many years, and who was a member of the Board of Visitors of the Institute. His mother was from Rockbridge County, Virginia, and was born Mary Holmes.

*Lopez and his followers who were captured by the Spaniards were executed in Havana, Cuba, Sept. 1, 1851.

Soon after leaving the Institute, he responded to the call to arms, and went to the scene of war, in Mexico. His only surviving child states that he was a lieutenant, though there is no mention of him in the Register of the volunteer officers in the War. This is doubtless an unintentional omission; for, with his high qualifications, there is scarcely room for doubt that he served as a commissioned officer. On being mustered out of the United States Military service, he was appointed first lieutenant in the "State Public Guard,"* in which position he served till his death, August 22, 1860. He was buried at Hollywood, Richmond. His whole brief life was spent in the military service of his State and his Country. He was a genial, Christian gentleman, and true soldier, who bravely met, and overcame, the last enemy, Death.

Sergeant-Major JAMES BALDWIN DORMAN, of Rockbridge County, Virginia, was graduated "Second Distinguished" in the Class of 1843. He was a son of General Charles P. Dorman, who was an influential member of the Legislature for some years previously to 1839, and during that year had probably more to do with the founding of the Institute than any citizen of Virginia. He was the patron of the Bill under which the School was established, and as chairman of the Committee of Schools and Colleges, early in the year of 1839, reported favorably the Bill which was passed, converting the old Arsenal into the V. M. I.; and he was a member of the first Board of Visitors of the Institute.

Dorman served awhile as an assistant professor at the Institute, and then became a lawyer. He volunteered as a private, and became a sergeant-major, in the Volunteers, in the Mexican War—the Colonel Wool's Regiment of Texas Rangers. He served gallantly with this regiment in the battle of Monterey.

Returning home after being mustered out of the service, he became actively engaged in his profession, and in politics. He was elected to the Legislature in 1848, and reëlected in 1849, and 1850. In 1861, he was elected a member of the Secession Convention of Virginia.

In the War of 1861-65, he served with distinction as major of the 9th Virginia Infantry and as assistant adjutant-general on the staffs of Generals D. H. Hill and B. D. Fry (V. M. I.). At the close of the War, he resumed his law practise at Lexington, which he continued, with great success and distinction, until 1883, when he was chosen for the position of Clerk of the Supreme Court of Appeals, and removed his residence to Staunton. He held this office until his death, August 4, 1893.

*This was the "standing army" of Virginia—a company of duly enlisted men, and officered by a captain and three lieutenants whose post and headquarters were at the State Armory in Richmond. It was commanded, at this time, by Capt. Charles Dimmock (later, brigadier-general), a graduate of the U. S. M. A., and an old Army officer. Soon after the War of 1861-'65, the "State Guard" was mustered out of service, and was never re-organised.

Major Dorman was a man of marked culture and ability. As an advocate at the bar, and speaker on the hustings, he had few superiors. His tastes were literary, and he devoted much time to books. His mind was richly stored with the best thoughts of the greatest writers, and was filled with a knowledge of men and affairs. His manners were gentle, and socially he was a charming companion; and to his last breath he was true to the V. M. I.

He left a widow and two children who have since died.

Corporal BENJAMIN FRANKLIN FICKLIN, of Albemarle County, Virginia; graduated 1849.

He was the son of Benjamin Ficklin, of Frederick County, Virginia, and his wife, Eleaner Slaughter, of Rappahannock County, Virginia.

Here is, in many respects, the most remarkable man who ever left the halls of our Alma Mater. As a cadet, possibly he never had his equal for mischief and pranks. There was nothing he would not adventure if it promised fun. He was constantly hauled before the Superintendent for violations of the regulations and breaches of discipline; and, yet, he always got the best of that keen-witted and ever-zealous official; till, finally, in his Third Class year Ficklin reached the limit of Colonel Smith's patience, and was expelled. It should be said, for fear of misunderstanding, that, with all his derelictions as a cadet, Ficklin was the soul of honor, and the most popular man in the Corps. His dismissal occurred about the time of the Mexican War, and Ben at once volunteered for service. The novelty, adventure and excitement of a war were to his taste, to a "tee."

He joined the Army, and made a good record, rising to the distinction of a *corporal,* for meritorious service. Peace declared, he returned to Virginia, and to Lexington. He applied to the Superintendent for reënlistment, which was refused instantly. He took up his quarters in Lexington, and announced that he was going to graduate. Daily, he visited the Superintendent's office, every time with a new plea and a new argument, to be turned down every time by "Old Specks." Finally, he said,—"Colonel Smith, to prove I am not altogether past redemption, I went to Mexico and did my duty in the ranks, and was made a *corporal!*"—Colonel Smith was at last conquered, and he said,—Mr. Ficklin, I'll reinstate you on my own responsibility. So, Ben reëntered the Corps, and was graduated with his Class.

His subsequent career reads like a romance, and is so interesting and eventful that we feel that an epitomized story of it should be told here. We are indebted to the Institute's Official Historiographer for the letters that follow. The late Colonel William W. Finney was a classmate of Ficklin, and his associate in his wonderful "Pony Express" project and "Central Overland California

and Pike's Peak Express and Stage Co." So, he was requested to prepare a sketch of Colonel Ficklin's life. This was the reply he made:

"BOSCOBEL P. O., VA., April 17, 1909.

"CAPTAIN JOSEPH R. ANDERSON,
"Lee, Va.,

"MY DEAR FELLOW-ALUMNUS—Your esteemed favor of the 29th ultimo, after an eccentric orbit to Richmond, Petersburg, and perchance elsewhere, finally reached me at the above-named post-office, in time, I must admit, to have been acknowledged many days ago, had I been at all *spry*. But, alas! I am no longer that, with the weight of within twenty-nine days of eighty years of my 'trembling limbs.' That is a good work, *mon ami*, in which you are engaged—a work to endure for ages. I heartily wish you complete success in it.

"Now, that you ask me to sketch the life of my closest friend, the late Major B. F. Ficklin, I regret more than ever that the sketch I had carried well-nigh to completion, a few years after his death—when memory was fresher, fuller and more accurate than it can ever be again—was lost at some time and place in my frequent wanderings, during the long intervening period.

"Truth to say, captain, the loss of that manuscript (coupled with my present inability to recall much of Major Ficklin's eventful life) makes me know, even more fully than heretofore, how unequal I am to the sketch you would have me undertake. And, yet, I feel this to be essentially a case of 'noblesse oblige,' seeing that I was assuredly more closely in contact with that life than any one else now living. So that, to reach 'the conclusion of the whole matter,' I here and now promise you to do as you ask, asking in turn that you give me as long a time as possible, and, if practicable let me overlook what I have sent you in regard to my own life's absolute failure. This, perchance, will bring to my mind incidents in the life of Ficklin that I do not now remember.

"Wishing you 'good luck in the Lord,'

"I am your friend,

"WILLIAM W. FINNEY.

"I think I have already told you of my inability to write legibly with pen and ink, owing to tremulousness, and asking to be excused." (His chirography is exquisite).

The Historiographer had every right to expect a sketch of thrilling interest and of immense historic value, to be prepared by this beloved old comrade who combined the gifts of a graceful and skillful writer with a knowledge of the subject, possessed by no other living person. He set about the task at once, but his more

than eighty years were telling upon the erstwhile robust frame and brilliant mind, and his progress was consequently slow, and increasingly difficult. Still, he sent messages, from time to time, to his anxious correspondent that he would soon complete his task. But, alas, the hand of Death was laid upon him, and the spirit of the noble patriot took its flight to the Heavenly world to commune once more with that of the long-lost classmate whose deeds he had promised to recount.

It was a grievous disappointment. But, fortunately, our Historiographer discovered in a distant State a kinsman of Colonel Ficklin,—himself an old "V. M. I. Boy," and, strange to say, an associate of Colonel Ficklin in his great western enterprise. This was Major J. E. Ficklin, of Texas (formerly of Virginia), and later a member of the staff of General Gabriel C. Wharton (V. M. I.) of the Confederate Army. This was surely a fortunate "find" and was availed of immediately. The following correspondence will give the gist of Colonel Ficklin's remarkable career, and is inserted here with confidence that it will be interesting to our readers:

"LEE, VA.,———— 1910.

"MAJOR J. E. FICKLIN,
"1828 Matamoros Street,,
"San Antonio, Texas.

"DEAR MAJOR FICKLIN—Your letter of the 6th instant is just at hand, for which I thank you.

"I am glad you are over the strain you have been subjected to so long, and can take a needed rest. I hope you will be able to carry out your present plan to return to Virginia next year. I am sorry you were disappointed with the result of the 'notes' you wrote in regard to Colonel B. F. Ficklin. I have no doubt they would have been very interesting, and valuable to me. You want me to frame a series of questions in regard to this most interesting and unique character. I will do so. Here goes.—

"He was a cadet when the Mexican War broke out, and was 'shipped' about that time for some serious breach of discipline. (I have heard he was always in trouble at the Institute, owing to his mischievous propensities which were never vicious, however). He came back after peace was declared, and presented himself before 'Old Specks,' and, with a *corporal's chevrons* on his arm (showing a reward for faithfully performing his duty in the War), asked for reinstatement. 'Specks' could not resist his arguments and promises of amendment; and so, he was reinstated, and graduated in 1849, with his Class. Before graduating he committed many minor offenses against military law, but they were condoned. This much, in substance, I have heard 'Old Specks' tell often.

"1. Do you know anything of his Mexican experiences?
"2. What was the 'Pony Express'?
"3. Did Ficklin establish it?
"4. Was anyone associated with him?
"5. When was it established?
"6. When did he give up this work?
"7. What did he engage in afterwards?
"8. When did he establish Stage-Lines in Alabama, and Texas?
"9. Give interesting incidents of his pioneer life in the far West.
"10. Did he have trouble with Indians, or 'bad men'?
"11. I heard of his once going on a long and dangerous ride to get provisions for a United States Army Post, or detachment of troops, which he accomplished amid great risks, and thereby saved the Post from starvation. *(Historically true.)* Can you give me the facts?
"12. Where was he when our War came on? Did he offer his services at once to the Governor of Virginia? What appointment did the Governor give him? Did he later enlist in the regular Army of the C. S. A.? If so, did he receive a military appointment? (I heard he had an appointment but could not serve regularly in the field on account of asthma which he contracted while on the Plains).
"13. What was his mission to England, on account of the C. S. Government? Was it successful? Incidents in connection therewith?
"14. Where was he when the War ended? His post-bellum career—what did he do?
"15. I have always heard he was a most generous and liberal-hearted man—always ready to help the distressed and needy. His fund of humor was immense. Stories illustrating this feature of his character will be most acceptable.
"There, now, I have given you a text for a long story.

"I have always regarded Colonel Ficklin as one of the most interesting characters the Virginia Military Institute ever turned out, and have wanted a sketch of him that will do justice to the memory of this brave, generous, noble Virginian.

. . . . . .

"With kindest regards,
"Sincerely your friend,
"JOSEPH R. ANDERSON.

"Tell me anything you can of Colonel William W. Finney's connection with Colonel Ficklin. It was most unfortunate that he died while engaged in preparing notes for a full sketch of him."

MAJOR FICKLIN'S REPLY

"CAPTAIN JOSEPH R. ANDERSON,
"Lee, Va.

"DEAR CAPTAIN—I have your list of questions in regard to the late Colonel Benjamin F. Ficklin, and reply at once.

"I have heard (I think either from his sister, Mrs. Brown, or his brother Slaughter) a different version of Colonel Ficklin's reinstatement; that he did not present himself to Colonel Smith, and ask for reinstatement, but that the application was first made by some influential gentlemen who were struck with Colonel Ficklin's prompt and dashing rescue from imminent danger of a stagecoach filled with passengers, they being among the number; that at *Colonel Smith's request,* Colonel Ficklin presented himself, and Colonel Smith agreed to take him back on condition that he give his word of honor not to infringe against the military regulations till the Board of Visitors sanctioned Colonel Smith's action in the matter; and I have it from General G. C. Wharton (a classmate of Colonel Ficklin's) that Ben was a 'good boy', and kept his promise with Colonel Smith till the meeting of the Board confirmed his reinstatement, *and then that 'L' broke loose again!*

"I have heard that Ben made as many conditions to his return to the V. M. I. as Colonel Smith exacted of him; and that Colonel Smith had to grant every one before Ben agreed to return. I have seen his diploma (preserved by his sister, Mrs. Brown), with the *bayonet wound* that he inflicted on it at the time it was handed to him. I have visited the academy at Abingdon, Virginia, where he taught (immediately after graduating), and became acquainted with Governor John B. Floyd.

"Now, as to your interrogatories:

"1. I know nothing of his record in the Mexican War.

"2. The 'Pony Express' was a line of ponies (and riders) extending from St. Joseph, Missouri, to San Francisco, California, intended for the quick delivery of dispatches—more particularly the Bills of Lading of gold shipments by vessels from California, *via* Panama. 'The Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express and Stage Co.' (that is, the Stage Line) was put on the same route as the Pony Express, and about the same time, and belonged to the same Company.

"3. Colonel Ficklin *did* establish it; was General Superintendent; and organized the Company. He went in person among the various Indian tribes and bought (or rather traded for) most of the ponies.

"4. I do not now recall all of the associates he had in the Company. I recall Russell, Majors, and Waddell, and

Jones and Cartwright—large Government freighters. Of the various assistant superintendents, I recall the names of Clute and Slade and myself, on the Pike's Peak Division.

"5. The organization took place in 1858. I joined Colonel Ficklin in St. Joseph in 1859 (after leaving the Institute), and the Line was then working to San Francisco.

"6. Colonel Ficklin was in Washington City, working on mail contracts, when Virginia passed the ordinance of Secession; and when I reached Virginia, in May, 1861, Colonel Ficklin was then in Richmond, and was quartermaster-general of Virginia. I think the transfer of all the quartermaster stores was made to the Confederate States by the 1st of August, 1861. I remember meeting in Richmond with Colonel Ficklin on several occasions. General Harry Heth, Colonel W. W. Finney, and General G. C. Wharton, and the organization of the Floyd Brigade, were the chief subjects of conversation. I remember that General Heth was to be colonel of the 45th Virginia (Regiment), and that Wharton, Ficklin, and Finney were to be lieutenant-colonels and majors, respectively. I was with the Floyd Brigade when organized at Wytheville, Virginia. Colonel Ficklin never joined this brigade, though he held a commission as lieutenant-colonel of the 50th Virginia (Regiment). General Floyd gave me a letter from Colonel Ficklin, sometime about the 1st of January, 1862, in which he asked General Floyd to accept his resignation, and saying he would go to England as the Purchasing Agent of the C. S. Government, and would send the general a battery of Napoleon guns, to cover the difference of the appointment. I do not remember that the guns showed up.

"8. I do not know when the Stage Line in Alabama was established; and I do not know that Colonel Ficklin established it. I think the Line was in operation, and Ben was sent there, after he had finished teaching in Abingdon (1845-50), and I *think* that from Alabama he joined General Albert Sidney Johnston on his expedition to Salt Lake, against the Mormons. *I do not give this as a known fact,* but rather as a confused memory. I can not recall that I ever heard Colonel Ficklin say one word about a single thing I have written. He never talked about what he had done; but I have a faint memory that I got the information from his brother Slaughter, and that it was on this expedition that he rendered the service that you ask about in (11)*, and that it was while on this expedition that he conceived the idea of the 'Pony Express' and a stage Line, to California. Gold in the Pike's Peak region had not been discovered at that time.

*This is plainly true.

The route of the Pony and Stage Lines was identical with the old military road made by General Johnston to Salt Lake. Beyond Salt Lake, I do not now remember how Colonel Ficklin got his information of the route; whether he went over it, or not, before he put on the stock, I can not tell; but I am rather of the opinion that he went over it first; but when, I can not say.

"9. It would take a much better writer than I to give an interesting record of the various incidents of Colonel Ficklin's life in the far West; of his life among the Blackfoot Indians after ponies; of the hanging of Jules; of the shooting of Slade by Jules; and many more legends of the various localities in which they occurred. I can not attempt to tell them. Perhaps my business may take me near your home, and if so, I will certainly call on you and give you all the information I have, or can gather.

"10, 11, 12. I have answered these questions above.

"13. He was purchasing Agent in Europe for the C. S. Government, and a blockade-runner. He was very successful, and made quite a number of entries into Wilmington, N. C., with his three steamships, 'Virginia,' 'Coquette,' and 'Giraffe.'

"15. He was very decidedly generous and liberal. He cared nothing for wealth for himself,—gave away as fast as he made money, often very unwisely.

"I knew Colonel Finney well. All I know about his connection with Colonel Ficklin is that they were great friends, and that Colonel Finney was perhaps better acquainted with Colonel Ficklin's business than Colonel Ficklin's own brother, till Colonel Finney married and moved to South Carolina."

It will be observed that Major Ficklin did not answer query No. 14 in this letter; but it is answered in his second letter, dated July 9, 1910, as follows (letter written from San Antonio, Texas): "I have been here two weeks, and most of the time too sick to get out; but I have made some inquiries to find some one who could start me right on my road to learn about Colonel Ficklin's connection with the opening up of the West Texas wilds, around old Fort Conchio; but so far, I have not been in the least successful. . . . I remember now that Colonel Ficklin severed his connection with both Stage and Pony Lines in 1859, and had a lawsuit of some kind against the Company (both Lines under same management) about his interest; and I remember his brother (Slaughter W. Ficklin) told me the Company had offered Colonel Ficklin fifty thousand dollars, and he refused it. War came on, and I do not think Colonel Ficklin ever got one cent out of it.

"Colonel Ficklin put on Pony Expresses here in Texas, and I think one Line was from here to Fort Conchio; and *that* is the trail

I am trying to strike. I want to pick up some old rider, or driver, and get his narrative, and any information that would be of interest. I have thought of going to Fort Sam Houston (located here) to see if I could get the names of any officers (who might still be living) who were at Conchio *from about 1868 to 1870.*"

This, then, was his occupation after the War, till his death—operating Stage Lines in Texas, in connection with his brother, Mr. Slaughter W. Ficklin.*

Besides possibly serving in the Western Virginia Campaign until some time in 1862, Colonel Ficklin fought with conspicuous gallantry as a staff officer in the battle of Malvern Hill, in the early summer of 1862. But his greatest services to the Confederate Government were as Purchasing Agent in Europe and Blockade Runner, buying, and bringing across the seas, much-needed military supplies, from 1862 to the end of the War.

Brave old Colonel Norborne Berkeley (his classmate) mentioned two incidents showing Ficklin's love of fun. He said: "I will never forget Ben Ficklin (mischievous Ben). Our 12-pounder was left one night outside the Arsenal, the muzzle pointing directly to the window over my bed. Sometime in the night, Ben touched her off, and I was literally covered up with glass. Another time, several of our Class were in the gun-house making rockets for 'the Fourth,' when Ben, passing by, couldn't resist touching off a squib; and if old Tom hadn't come quickly with two buckets of water, Sam Garland, who was rehearsing his oration in the Hall just over us, would have taken a flight even higher than his eloquent speech carried him later."

Colonel Ficklin's niece, the cultivated Mrs. J. J. King, and the last survivor of his family, wrote: "You know, of course, that Uncle Ben left the Institute *unceremoniously,* on account of one of his numerous pranks (I believe firing a cannon at midnight).

"He enlisted in the Mexican War in which he served until its close; when, returning through Lexington, he met General Smith, who reinstated him on his own responsibility, merely exacting the promise that he would get no more demerits, which promise was kept. But since those of his earlier life were registered against him, and were by no means *few,* he graduated (I think) next to the lowest in his Class. Of course, all who knew him were on the *qui vive* to see how one of his talent would deport himself under such a humiliation. He gratified their curiosity by placing his diploma on the point of his bayonet and marching out of the Hall." Mrs. King says that after leaving Abingdon (after graduating), he taught (she thinks) for awhile in the North; and that there is a story that he was in an abolitionist centre; and that on learning

*We know that Colonel Ficklin established these lines in Texas, after the War, for we are told that his friend and old V. M. I. comrade, Colonel Briscoe G. Baldwin, went there to assume charge of the Lines, but upon arriving, learned of Ficklin's sudden death in Georgetown, D. C.

he was a "suspect" of the opposite sentiments, an indignation meeting was held which *he himself attended,* and that he made the most eloquent speech of the evening on the subject of "Abolition," taking care, however, *"to leave town early the next morning."* She continues: "Just before the War, he was with General Albert Sidney Johnston on the plains—in what capacity I do not know, and at one time their provisions were nearly exhausted, and it was necessary to send into British America* for supplies. At a 'Council of War' an appeal was made to some men to undertake the expedition. For a long time no response was made, as the oldest trapper had said no one could return alive from such a trip, at that season—midwinter. Finally, Uncle Ben arose and said he would undertake it, if he could select six men to accompany him, and would engage to return at a certain time. In vain, those who knew the country tried to dissuade him. I wish I could recall all the adventures as I heard related by him; but the only thing that made an impression upon my young mind was their being deprived of food for three days when they were forced to resort to *mule meat.* The supplies were finally procured, and they returned to camp, a few days late, —just in time to stop the departure of a messenger to Washington to report the party as dead.

"He was the originator of the Pony Express, and when the first rider had mounted his 'white pony,' at St. Joseph, and was about to start, Uncle Ben handed him a twenty-five cent piece. Upon being asked what it was for, he replied, 'For you to buy a rope and hang himself, if you do not make the correct time.' He always said that Monticello, Jefferson's residence, should belong to the State. So, when it was confiscated, during the War, he bought it for eighty thousand dollars, and was having it repaired, before presenting it to the State, when the War terminated as it did, and it reverted to the heirs of the former owner.

"I suppose no one could tell the amount of good he did in helping poor young men, and aiding charitable institutions. I heard that a Catholic institution in Richmond would have been compelled to close its doors, during the War, but for his kindly aid (and he not of the Catholic faith).

"Although so much of his life was passed in 'roughing it,' and for months at a time he was without the pale of civilization, as it were, he was one of the gentlest, most refined men I ever knew. His voice was low and sweet, and he was fastidious to a fault in his ideas of a lady's manners and dress. He never married; nor do I know that he ever had any serious 'affairs,' though he frequently teased my sister and myself by telling us he was about to enlist in the married state. We considered him our special property, and did not wish a better play-fellow in his visits to us.

*Not British-America, but some distant Army Port in the United States.

"I have in my possession a passport issued by Isaac H. Carrington, Provost Marshal, granting him permission to 'pass at will in the Confederate States.' . . . As you observe, I have only jotted down incidents in his life, as I heard them in my youth, and can recall in my old age."

It seems the irony of fate that, after braving every danger of land and sea, Colonel Ficklin should die from getting a *fish bone in his throat,* at the home of a friend in Georgetown, D. C., but such was the case. His death occurred on March 12, 1871.

Private ANTHONY WEBSTER SOUTHALL, of Amelia County, Virginia, matriculated in 1844, and remained one year. He was in training for the profession of law when war was declared with Mexico, and against the wishes of his family he left the Institute, and joined the company from his county which was attached to the First Virginia Regiment.

He served through the campaign, but ruined his health, and died soon after returning home, from the effects of his severe service in Mexico.

Anthony Webster Southall was a son of Dr. Phillip T. Southall, and his wife, Elizabeth Webster, and was born in Prince Edward County, Virginia.

Private CHARLES EVERETT CARTER, of Albemarle County, Virginia. He was one of the little band who relieved the Public Guard in 1839, and formed the first Corps of Cadets. His father was Dr. Charles W. Carter of "Blenheim," and his mother was born Mary Cocke, daughter of Captain James Powell Cocke, of the Revolutionary War.

He left the Institute after one year, and settled on a plantation in South Carolina. When the Mexican War broke out, he volunteered as a private in the "Palmetto Regiment" from South Carolina. He was ill with fever when the Army entered the City of Mexico, and died a few days afterwards, November 5, 1847.

He is said to have been a gallant soldier. Through the kindness of Colonel Abram Van Buren, his remains were brought back to South Carolina, and were deposited in Trinity Churchyard at Columbia, in the section of his sister, Mrs. Singleton.

Private REUBEN G. ROSS, of Botetourt County, Virginia, matriculated 1845. He was born in Tennessee, but his father, Reuben Ross, originally of Montgomery County, Virginia, removed to Fincastle, from which place the son was entered at the Institute. His mother was Frances Miller, of Fincastle. The Mexican War occuring the next year, he volunteered as a member of his cousin's, Captain Caldwell's, company. He served through the campaign. Afterwards, he became a civil engineer, and was employed in building the railroad from Petersburg to Lynchburg. Later, he married

an heiress, and removed to St. Charles, Missouri, where he engaged very successfully in a woolen factory. He served in neither Army during the Confederate War. After the War, his prosperity waned, and when he died, about 1880, he left only a moderate estate.

Colonel Norborne Berkley, his classmate, said: "Old 'Reub' was the bass in our quartet. The last thing I recollect of him, his 200 pounds and Matt Cullen's 100 pounds were flying down the hill in front of Barracks on the toboggan, and when they went into the sunken road at the foot of the hill, Dr. Estill, the surgeon, was sent for in a hurry."

Private ALEXANDER MCNUTT MCCORKLE, of Rockbridge County, Virginia. In 1840 he was entered at the Institute. His parents were John McCorkle and Sarah Etchison Cunningham, of Rockbridge County, and he was the eldest of their twelve children. His paternal great-grandfather was John McCorkle, who was an ensign in General William Smallwood's Brigade, and was killed at the battle of Cowpens, and buried on the field.

He left the Institute before completing the course. He volunteered for the Mexican War, and was assigned to —— regiment in General Taylor's command, near Monterey, and died in the service, a short time afterwards, from the effects of the climate.

We have thus briefly sketched the twenty-five sons of the V. M. I., who fought in the Mexican War. They were all worthy sons. Three of them, Carter, McCorkle, and Munford, never saw again their native land, and one other of the little patriot band, Southall, died soon after reaching home, from the effects of the hard service he had undergone in a foreign land. Noble martyrs, all! The casualties amounted to sixteen per cent.; and, if we consider the deaths of Deyerle and Scott to have been due indirectly to their arduous military service in Mexico—as in all probability they were—the ratio of mortality is increased to *twenty-four per cent.*

Surely, then, with the records of these twenty-four comrades—among the earliest cadets of the Institute—before us, we would be false to their sacred memories, and recreant to our duty, if we failed in this history to pay them the homage of praise and admiration which is justly their due.

APPENDIX J

PREPARED BY JOS. R. ANDERSON.

V. M. I. IN THE REGULAR ARMY AND NAVY, BEFORE 1861

Previously to the War of 1861-65, there were twenty-two V. M. I. Graduates and Elèves in the regular Military Establishment of the United States.*

In the Army, were the following commissioned officers, to wit:

Captain ARTHUR CAMPBELL CUMMINGS, of Virginia,
Captain RICHARD CARLTON WALKER RADFORD, of Virginia,
Captain JOHN ADDY THOMPSON, of Ohio,
Captain BRISCOE GERARD BALDWIN, of Virginia,
Brevet Captain DANIEL SMITH LEE, of Virginia,
Brevet Captain HAMILTON LEROY SHIELDS, of Virginia,
Surgeon CHARLES PETER DEYERLE, of Virginia,
First Lieutenant BIRKETT DAVENPORT FRY, of Virginia,
First Lieutenant JAMES EDWIN SLAUGHTER, of Virginia,
First Lieutenant ANDREW JACKSON, of Virginia,
First Lieutenant EDWIN JAMES HARVIE, of Virginia,
First Lieutenant JOHN THOMAS GOODE, of Virginia,
First Lieutenant WALTER JONES, of District of Columbia,
First Lieutenant JOHN ROBINSON WADDY, of Virginia,
First Lieutenant (Assistant Surgeon) ARCHIBALD MAGILL FAUNTLEROY, of Virginia,
Second Lieutenant ISAAC WILLIAMS SMITH, of Virginia,
Second Lieutenant WILLIAM FITZHUGH LEE, of Virginia,
Second Lieutenant FRANCIS MALLORY, of Virginia.

In the Navy, were the following officers, to wit:

Passed Assistant Surgeon MARCELLUS PALMER CHRISTIAN, of Virginia,
**Acting Lieutenant HENRY ST. GEORGE HUNTER, of Virginia,
Paymaster RICHARD HARCOURT SINTON, of Virginia,
Paymaster GEORGE HARRISON RITCHIE, of Virginia.

Brief sketches of Cummings, Radford, D. S. Lee, Shields, Deyerle, Fry, Slaughter, Jackson, and Smith, will be found in the

*A separate appendix is devoted to Alumni in the regular Army, and the Volunteers, who served in the War with Mexico.
**His younger brother, also an Old Cadet, served as lieutenant in the Mexican War, and afterwards as lieutenant in Cortes's Army in Cuba, and was killed in the latter's expedition.

chapter entitled, "The Institute's Contribution to the Mexican War," and one of Thompson in the chapter entitled, " Graduates and Elèves in the Union Army, During the War," found in this book.

Below, we give brief sketches of the others mentioned above.

BRISCOE GERARD BALDWIN was graduated in the Class of 1848. Three years before, he and his twin-brother, James W. Baldwin, had entered the Institute together. Their father was Briscoe G. Baldwin, Judge of the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia, an officer of the War of 1812, and subsequently Major-General of the Virginia Militia, several times a member of the General Assembly, and a member of the Constitutional Convention of Virginia. Their mother was Martha Steele Brown, daughter of Frances Peyton, and granddaughter of Colonel Harry Peyton, of Westmoreland County, Virginia (the gallant Revolutionary soldier who lost his five sons in that struggle); and, through her, these old cadets were direct descendants of Alfred's line of English Kings. An older brother was the distinguished John Briscoe Baldwin, member of the Virginia Convention of 1861, and Colonel of the 52d Virginia Infantry, C. S. A. The wife of the Hon. A. H. H. Stuart was their sister, as was Mrs. James M. Ranson, of Staunton, Virginia.

For a year after graduating, Briscoe G. Baldwin served as private secretary to the Hon. A. H. H. Stuart, Secretary of the Interior, under President Fillmore. With his brilliant intellect, he was active in originating and promoting, personally and with his trenchant pen, some of the salutary measures of that administration.

In October, 1851, he accepted a commission, tendered by the President, in the regular Army, and was stationed on the Pacific Coast. After seeing some service in the West, the outbreak of hostilities in 1861 found him in command of the Arsenal at Augusta, Maine, with the rank of captain. Resigning from the Army, on the action of his State Convention, withdrawing his State from the Union, he made his way through the lines to Richmond, and tendered his services to Virginia and the Confederacy.

His first duty was in charge of the Arsenal at Richmond, looking after the Army ordnance manufactured at the Tredegar Works, and the general work of producing and repairing small arms and other munitions of war for the troops in the East. Only those familiar with the conditions at the time can realize the difficulties of his position. But Captain Baldwin won high praise for his zeal and success.

In the spring of 1862, he sought more congenial service in the field; and, by request of his classmate, Brigadier-General R. E. Rodes, he was appointed his Assistant Adjutant-General. In the battle of Seven Pines, he took a prominent part in the magnificent

charge of Rodes's Brigade which carried the enemy's fortifications with heavy loss.

He participated actively in the Seven Days' battles around Richmond; and in the last day's fighting was desperately wounded by a shot through the body, penetrating the lungs, while leading a charge, mounted. In this immediate service he was a volunteer, the regimental field-officers having been killed. Baldwin was left for dead, but was finally found by some of the regiment, and, as soon as practicable, was taken to Staunton. There, he lay for weeks between life and death, but was nursed back to strength by the tender ministrations of devoted women.

He soon received promotion as major of ordnance, and soon thereafter, in acknowledgment of distinguished service, he was appointed Chief of Ordnance of the Army of Northern Virginia, ranking at first as lieutenant-colonel, and from the fall of 1862 to the surrender, he was one of the staff, and immediate military family, of General Robert E. Lee, having in charge (besides his other duties) the Secret Department of the Army and the movements of Scouts within the enemy's lines. At the time of the surrender, his rank was Colonel of Ordnance.

From the effects of his wound he never recovered, though he lived out his three score and ten years. He was more or less a sufferer to the end of his life, and subject, at times, to great depression of spirits.

After surrendering with his beloved commander, he went to Richmond, and took charge of the Southern business of the National Express and Transportation Company. Upon the failure of that enterprise, he spent some time in Lynchburg and Staunton, in no condition of health for active pursuits.

In 1870, he set out for Texas, to take charge of the Stage Lines established there by his friend, an old V. M. I. comrade, Colonel Benjamin F. Ficklin. But when he reached Texas he learned of Ficklin's sudden death. (See his sketch herein). He was stranded, and rather than accept help from relatives, he underwent for some time the hardships and exposure incident to herding cattle for ranchers on the Brazos River. Later, he was made Superintendent of Public Instruction, and went to live at Bryan, Texas. There, he died, after a brief illness, on the 28th of September, 1898.

At his death, such honor was done him as falls to few. His remains lay in state in the City Hall; the Court adjourned, and schools and business were suspended. Floral tributes, a military escort, and funeral salutes were accorded this distinguished man who had but a few short years before come among the people of Bryan a total stranger, a poor and broken-down Confederate soldier. And two years after his death, there was erected to his memory by the Daughters of the Confederacy, of Texas, in the

presence of a large concourse, and with imposing ceremonies, a stately marble shaft, dedicated, and with eloquent and touching address by a gifted son of Texas, Judge Norman J. Kittrell who said, in part,—

"Here was a brave man broken in health and fortune, his cherished hopes shattered, and his loftiest aspirations disappointed, yet holding to the faith of his fathers, and preserving untarnished the honor of a gentleman. The tides of adversity may overwhelm and the storms of life beat upon him, but no power can bend such an one from the perpendicular of a proud, upright and courageous manhood.

. . . . . .

"He was the friend and associate, and possessed, as a soldier and a man, the confidence of one who within himself was the embodiment of every human virtue; who was the noble scion of a knightly race, a gifted soldier, unselfish patriot and Christian gentleman, the peerless and proudest product of the ages; and, when by word and deed, Robert E. Lee manifested his confidence in, and regard for, the soldier who laid down life's burdens, on this spot, then was Briscoe G. Baldwin avouched unto posterity as worthy of trust and admiration in life and of the loftiest honors in death."

In personal appearance, Colonel Baldwin was a notable figure, standing over six feet, erect and stately in bearing, and every inch a soldier. He was chivalrous in every impulse of his nature, and generous to a fault. Disappointed in love in early life, he never married.

EDWIN JAMES HARVIE was graduated in the Class of 1855; but, before graduating, on March 8, 1855, was appointed second lieutenant, 9th Infantry, U. S. Army. On July 1, 1857, he was promoted to first lieutenant, and served till March 15, 1861, when he resigned to enter the Confederate States service, in which he attained great distinction as Colonel and Inspector-General of General Joseph E. Johnston's Army.

Colonel Harvie described himself when he said of General Johnston—that "he was a Virginian by birth and education and a gentleman by the grace of God." He was a son of Colonel Lewis E. Harvie—one of the most distinguished citizens of Virginia, who was president of the old Richmond and Danville Railroad Company, during the War, and for many years before.

In a beautiful tribute to this dear "Old Cadet," Senator Money of Mississippi said,—"He was a man of singular purity of character; he never stopped to consider whether anything would appear honest or dishonest, noble or ignoble, honorable or dishonorable; he instinctively did what a gentleman should do, and, with an exceedingly fine perception of duty, he naturally perceived and per-

formed all duties. In mind and speech, he was as delicate as a woman. . . . He had a woman's sympathy, and his great heart was troubled by the distresses all around him.

"I have thus compared him to woman, because there is no higher standard of excellence, and because he was so much better than the men I have known. The gentle warrior fought fifty-four battles for the South, and at every moment of his splendid service, he believed that he could not do otherwise.

. . . . . .

"He married Miss Edmonia Meade, who was of old Virginia stock, known all over the South for domestic and social virtues. She died when his four children were not grown, and he was both father and mother to them, their guiding companion, and their idol, and he gave to them a life of devotion."

Until a few years before his death, he was employed in the "Confederate Records" Division of the United States War Department, and his services were most valuable.

No Alumnus exceeded him in loyalty to, and love for, his Alma Mater, and his Alma Mater never had a worthier son.

JOHN THOMAS GOODE was matriculated in 1854, but resigned after one year to enter the Army. On June 18, 1855, he was appointed second lieutenant, 4th Artillery. On June 10, 1857, he was promoted first lieutenant and served as such until July 8, 1861, when he resigned to enter the Confederate Army in which he served throughout the War with great gallantry. He was colonel of the 34th Virginia Infantry, Wise's Brigade, and the last year of the War commanded his brigade, while General Wise commanded a division.

Colonel Goode was a brave Indian fighter in the old Army, and endured great hardships. When the clouds of Civil War threatened the South, he traveled thousands of miles across the continent (with his wife and two children, and with only one other man in his party), to share the fortunes of his native State in the impending crisis.

Colonel Goode was the son of the Honorable William O. Goode, who represented his district in Congress for many years.

Colonel Goode is still living on his farm in Mecklenburg County, Virginia. He has represented his county in the House of Delegates, since the War; and was really elected to Congress, but, because of some technicality, he was not given his seat. He was married four times, and has a number of children, one of whom (now dead) was a cadet at the Institute.

WALTER JONES was a son of Major-General Roger Jones, Adjutant-General of the U. S. Army, and his wife, Mary Anne Mason Page, whose mother was a sister of "Light Horse" Harry Lee.

He entered the Institute in 1849, and resigned in 1852. For three years, he served in the United States Coast Survey, and under William Mahone, in the construction of the Norfolk & Petersburg Railroad. On June 30, 1855, he received the appointment of second lieutenant in the 1st Infantry. On October 31, 1857, he was promoted to first lieutenant of the 3d Infantry, in which he served till May 10, 1861, when he resigned to enter the Confederate Army.

He was assigned by the Secretary of War as quartermaster at Lynchburg, Virginia, preparing and equipping troops for the field. He was then appointed to the staff of General Walker, in Mississippi, as major, and at the time of the surrender he was commander of the post at Montgomery, Alabama. He married Mrs. M. Brooks, of Mobile, Alabama, in 1868. Of the three sons born to them, only one, Brooks Jones, is now living.

Major Jones died at his home in Mobile, in 1875.

JOHN ROBINSON WADDY was graduated in 1853. He then taught for several years. On the recommendation of Governor Henry A. Wise and Major (afterwards Lieutenant-General) Thomas J. Jackson, he was appointed, on February 21, 1857, second lieutenant of the 4th Artillery. He was promoted, February 4, 1861, first lieutenant. He resigned, July 20, 1861, to cast his fortunes with his native State, in the pending struggle for constitutional liberty.

He served under various commanders as adjutant-general, and ordnance and artillery officer; becoming, finally, colonel of artillery, surrendering with Johnston's Army.

He lived on his farm in Northampton County Virginia, after the War, for a few years, and then removed to New York, in which city he engaged in business till 1877. He returned then to Virginia, and again engaged in farming for five years; after which he removed to Norfolk, where he was a prominent figure. After serving as inspector-in-chief of export grain for the Norfolk and Western Railroad Company till 1898, he was appointed postmaster of Norfolk, and served with the greatest satisfaction to the people and the government until his death, February 10, 1903. He married Miss Ella George Fitchett, of Northampton County, Virginia, who preceded him to the grave. Eight children were born to them, of whom five daughters and two sons survive.

ARCHIBALD MAGILL FAUNTLEROY was graduated in 1857. He was the son of Colonel Thomas Turner Fauntleroy, of the United States Army (later Brigadier-General in C. S. A.), and his wife, Ann Magill.

After graduating at the Institute, he studied medicine at the University of Virginia and the University of Pennsylvania, receiving the degree of M. D. from the last-named institution. On

June 28, 1860, he was appointed assistant surgeon in the United States Army, which position he resigned, on May 9, 1861, to enter the Confederate service. He was surgeon on the staff of General Joseph E. Johnston; afterwards, medical director of North Carolina; and, at the close of the War, he was medical director of the Valley of Virginia.

After the War, he was elected Superintendent of the Western Insane Asylum, at Staunton, Virginia, where he served with great distinction till his death, June 19, 1886. He was at one time President of the Virginia Medical Society, and was the author of several monographs on medical subjects. He was a noted surgeon during the War, and made a great reputation by his "Hip joint operation."* When he died, he was among the most distinguished Alienists of this country.

Dr. Fauntleroy married Sallie Conrad, daughter of the Hon. Robert Y. Conrad, of Winchester, Virginia, who died in 1908, leaving four daughters and four sons.

WILLIAM FITZHUGH LEE was graduated in the Class of 1853. He was a son of the Reverend William F. Lee, of the Episcopal Church in Virginia,—a man noted for his piety and usefulness, and his wife, Mary Catherine, daughter of William Chilton, of Leesburg, Virginia, and sister of General R. H. Chilton, C. S. A.

On June 30, 1855, he received a commission of second lieutenant in the Second Infantry which he held until April 30, 1861, when he resigned and entered the Confederate Army. He was first appointed captain, and, soon afterwards, was commissioned lieutenant-colonel of the 33d Virginia Infantry. At First Manassas, he fell mortally wounded, and died eight days afterwards, July 29, 1861. He was a gallant officer and noble gentleman. "He had lived a soldier and a Christian; he died proudly vindicating his title to the former, and, through faith in his Saviour, humbly trusting that he was the latter." His aged widow was still living a few years ago. His only daughter, who married Colonel William A. Simpson, U. S. A., died in 1895, leaving four children, who were raised by Mrs. Lee; two of these grandchildren of Colonel Lee are now faithfully serving their country, as he did, one in the Army and the other in the Navy.

FRANCIS MALLORY was graduated in 1853. He was a son of Dr. Francis Mallory, and his wife, Mary F. Wright, of Norfolk and Hampton, Virginia. Dr. Mallory gave up his profession, after a few years, and devoted himself to agricultural pursuits. He represented his district in Congress, and again returning to Norfolk, represented that city in the State Legislature.

The father of Dr. Mallory was Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia in 1812. The family is descended from Roger Mallory, who left

*See Records of the Rebellion.

England during the Civil War, and settled in King and Queen County, Virginia, and has always been distinguished.

Francis, the subject of this brief sketch, was an assistant engineer under William Mahone (V. M. I.), Chief Engineer of the Norfolk and Petersburg Railroad, for three years, after leaving the Institute. On June 27, 1856, he was appointed second lieutenant in the Army, and assigned to the 4th Infantry. He resigned his commission, July 10, 1861, to enter the Confederate Army.

For five years he had been in active service at Forts Vancouver, Cascades, and Walla-Walla, in Oregon and Washington Territories, suppressing the outrages of the Indians, and thus gained a valuable experience in warfare. He won the confidence and affection of his brother-officers, who bore the most cordial and unequivocal testimony to the thoroughness and efficiency of his military training. He shrank from no danger, or difficulty, and courted adventure.

When he saw Civil War threatening, he wrote his devoted mother,—"Although my arm is but that of one man, I feel a giant heart within me, and would strike no mean blow in the defense of our homes and the honor of our glorious old State. I consider it is as much my duty to side with my State against all enemies, as I would to defend and protect you, my dear mother, from the whole world, right or wrong. Should I fall in the defense of my mother, or my State, the only regret would be that I had not a hundred lives to offer, instead of one." And his biographer adds,—"Such a sentiment is the key of the whole man, since he who could pen it, and then die in its support, possessed all the elements of true manhood and greatness!"

This noble young officer, while colonel of the 55th Virginia Infantry, survived the perils, and shared the glories, of Cedar Run, Second Manassas, Harper's Ferry, Sharpsburg, and Fredericksburg; but, alas, when so full of promise, he fell at Chancellorsville, May 2, 1863. His distinguished nephew and namesake has held for years an important chair at the Institute, and is worthy of the high name he bears.

MARCELLUS PALMER CHRISTIAN was graduated in the Class of 1852. His parents were Henry A. Christian, and his wife, Susan Palmer. His paternal grandfather, Henry Christian, was a captain in the Revolutionary War.

He was born in Appomattox County, Virginia, in 1830, but his family were residents of Lynchburg when he entered the Institute. After graduating, he took up the study of medicine, at the University of Virginia, and was graduated there M. D. He afterwards pursued his medical studies in New York City.

He entered the United States Navy, and had risen to the rank of passed assistant surgeon in 1861, when he resigned and tendered

his services to his State and the Confederacy. He was appointed assistant surgeon, C. S. Navy, July 18, 1861; was promoted to passed assistant surgeon, October 25, 1862, and became surgeon before the War ended.

. . . . . .

In 1862, he married Nannie R. Davis, daughter of Judge Micajah Davis, of Bedford City, Virginia. His only child died young. After the War he returned to Lynchburg and practised his profession in that City until his death, November 19, 1879. He was greatly beloved.

HENRY ST. GEORGE HUNTER was entered at the Institute in 1841 by his devoted sister, Miss Fannie Washington Hunter (being an orphan), having first been a student at the University of Virginia. He was the eldest son of Hon. Moses T. Hunter, of Martinsburg, Virginia, a famous lawyer and wit, and his wife, Mary W. Snicker.

He left the Institute to enter the Navy, and became an acting lieutenant. He was an ensign with Commander Perry when he made his famous treaty with Japan.

The following beautiful obituary best tells the story of his life:

"Died on board the United States Steamer, *Hancock*, near Fouchou-fou, China, on the 24th of September last (1854), of dysentery, Acting Lieutenant Henry St. George Hunter, United States Navy, in the 30th year of his age.

"Thus early has fallen one whose budding promise foretold a life of professional usefulness and honor. In the language of a friend and brother officer, for years intimately associated with him: 'He had excellencies of head and heart, as fitted to win admiration and love as any one I ever knew. He was a fine officer, an amiable and interesting companion, a true-hearted gentleman.'

"He was the last brother whom God had spared to the grief-worn hearts of his sorrowing sisters. But a few short years have passed since they were called to mourn for one whose bones lie bleaching upon the mountains of Cuba, the victim of a high-souled, but mistaken, chivalry.* Still more recently, another brother, in the freshness of his young life's hope and promise, met a sudden and violent death by accident;** and now, before time has mellowed and soothed the bitterness of their anguish, across the broad ocean is borne to their ears the sad tidings that the last son of their house and name—the last brother of their love—the last hope of their drooping hearts—sleeps his last sleep, sadly and alone, by the dark waters of a distant sea. To God only can they look for strength in this their hour of threefold gloom. He has filled the

*Lieutenant Beverly T. Hunter, V. M. I. of Cortez's Army, killed in Cuba, (See sketch herein).

**J. Brooke Hunter, Civil Engineer on Memphis and Charleston Railroad, died from injuries received by falling from a car, September 14, 1853.

cup of their sorrow to overflowing, and He alone can strengthen and sustain them."

[General David Hunter, United States Army (of execrated memory), was a first cousin of Hon. Moses T. Hunter (father of Cadets Henry St. George and Beverly T. Hunter) and his brother, Hon. Andrew Hunter, both of Martinsburg, Virginia. In his diabolism, he burnt the residence of Hon. Andrew Hunter, because he was a Secessionist, and the home of Hon. Edmund I. Lee (cousin of General Robert E. Lee, and uncle of Colonel William Fitzhugh Lee, who has just been mentioned), of Shepherdstown. He then proceeded on his path of deviltry, and next burnt the Virginia Military Institute, and the home of Ex-Governor Letcher; and, eighteen miles farther on, he destroyed the beautiful home of Colonel John T. Anderson, another "rabid secessionist" (whose only child, Major Joseph W. Anderson, Chief of Artillery of Stevenson's Division, C. S. A., had only the year before been killed, near Vicksburg), giving the invalid wife but five minutes to get out of the house.

[On one occasion, after the War, "Vandal" met on a street, in Washington, the two young granddaughters of Hon. Moses T. Hunter, and said, "I am sorry you have not met me before," when the brave little younger sister replied—"General Hunter, we *would rather meet the Devil!*"]

RICHARD HARCOURT SINTON was graduated in 1847 "First Distinguished" in his Class, with Generals Mahone and Wharton as two of his classmates. He was born at his father's country estate, "The Grove," near Richmond, Virginia, September 6, 1825. His parents were Joseph Sinton (born in Ireland in 1790), and his wife, Maria Davis (widow, *née* Price). He was the eldest child.

Immediately upon graduating, he received an appointment as paymaster in the United States Navy, and he served on the Frigate *Brandywine* and the U. S. S. *Ohio*. He arrived in California in the last-named ship, soon after the Mexican War, and then resigned his commission. In association with General Henry M. Naglee (U. S. A., retired), of Pennsylvania, he opened the first bank in San Francisco.

In 1856, he married Elizabeth Zabriskie, daughter of Colonel James C. Zabriskie, of New Brunswick, New Jersey. Two children were born to them, Lizzie Zabriskie (now Mrs. W. D. Walker, of San Francisco) and a son who died.

Until 1865, he continued with great success in the banking business, amassing great wealth. After the War he went into the real estate business, in which he continued until his death, July 18, 1894.

In the War of 1861-65, his sympathies were with the South, but he took no part. In the spring of 1889, the Chairman of the

V. M. I. Semi-Centennial Executive Committee received the following letter from this old comrade, which shows the "V. M. I. spirit" still animated him, after forty-two years:

"JOSEPH R. ANDERSON, ESQ.,
"Chairman, etc.,
"Richmond, Va.

"DEAR SIR—Your resolve to have a Semi-Centennial meeting of Alumni was a most happy inspiration, and I hope the result will be a great success. The thought of treading again the familiar and loved ground of the dear Alma Mater thrills every fibre of my body, until I yearn to be with you in the flesh, in July, but my engagements are such, and the distance so great, that I can not spare the time, albeit the gratification would be so great and dear to my heart. I have written to my dear old friend and classmate, General G. C. Wharton (who will doubtless be with you), to respond for me at your conclave.

"Wishing yourself and comrades every success,

"I am, fraternally yours,

"R. H. SINTON."

GEORGE HARRISON RITCHIE was matriculated in September, 1845. He was a son of Thomas Ritchie, of the old Richmond *Enquirer,* and Virginia's greatest editor, and his wife, Isabella Foushee, who was a daughter of Dr. William Foushee, a native of France, who became an eminent citizen of Richmond. Mr. Ritchie had moved his residence to Washington, when George was entered as a cadet. Mr. Ritchie came to Richmond during the administration of the elder Adams, and began his editorial labors towards its close. Under his skillful management, the *Enquirer* became the political oracle, not only of Virginia Democracy, but of that of the South and Middle West. His influence upon the mass of his countrymen was a power such as is seldom acquired by a newspaper man. "He made and unmade statesmen." Thus wrote the late Judge Beverley T. Wellford, of Richmond.

George H. Ritchie did not finish the course at the Institute, as he was ambituous to enter the Navy. An appointment as paymaster was secured for him, dated April 1, 1853. He served till April 29, 1861, when he resigned to enter the Confederate service. He was appointed paymaster in the C. S. Navy, on October 11, 1861, to rank from March 1, 1861.

After the War, he was in the insurance business, in Washington, D. C., till his death, about 1870. He never married.

In 1861, of the twenty-two officers sketched above (all of whom had served with credit and honor in the old service),—three had

died in the line of duty; one (from Ohio) remained in the United States service; one who had left the service seven years before continued to reside in the North, but did not reënter the Army; one was living in California who had returned to his native State, Virginia, but once since his graduation, fourteen years before; and *sixteen* cast their fortunes with their beloved Southland; and what a glorious record these last made! Two of them became brigadier-generals; nine, colonels; one, lieutenant-colonel; three, majors (including one of relative naval rank), and one, captain—a naval officer of relative army rank; and two (colonels) were *killed in battle!*

Of all these twenty-two sons, the old mother will ever be proud; and their memories will ever be sacredly cherished.

APPENDIX K

NOTE ON V. M. I. CLAIM FOR LOSS OF PROPERTY SUSTAINED DURING THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES

It is suggested by the author that, in the event the present Congress does not pass the bill providing for the reimbursement of the Virginia Military Institute for the loss of property it sustained during the War between the States, certain evidence be introduced at any future hearing before the Committee of Claims, which was not introduced on either of the two occasions when the claim of the Institute was presented in the past. This evidence is, that the buildings and other property of the Citadel Military Academy, of Charleston, S. C., were not destroyed when captured by General Sherman in 1865, although the cadets of the institution were actually engaged in resisting under arms as a military unit the advance of his troops at the very time the property was seized, and had been repeatedly employed during the War. In addition to having furnished over two hundred officers to the Confederate States Army, the Citadel Military Academy is said to have been responsible for the first shot of the War, fired at Morris Island, January 9, 1861, upon the *Star of the West,* and the last shot of the War, fired by an organized body of troops east of the Mississippi River, when on May 9, 1865, the cadets of the Academy were engaged in a skirmish with General Stoneman's command near Williamstown, S. C.

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